Daily Report

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Students Hold Protest March, Rally in Sofia

AU0203164890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] A march and rally of the Independent Students Associations Federation began at 1530 today [1330 GMT]. The students marched along a route that was not approved by the Sofia City People's Council and reached the 9 September Square without obstruction. Many citizens also joined the students' meeting.

It is generally estimated that about 20,000 people took part in the march. No breaches of public order were observed. A special student guard was posted in front of the Georgi Dimitrov Mausoleum to prevent any possible provocations.

According to our reporter, representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs throughout the entire period strictly fulfilled their obligations and displayed a correct attitude toward the participants in the march and rally.

The slogans displayed included the following: Down with the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]; The BCP is a mafia; Democracy or communism; and others. Movement activists and its leader Emil Koshlukov spoke at the rally.

Our reporter was shown evidence that the rally was in fact legally banned by a Sofia City People's Council letter dated 28 February 1990, printed and signed by a Sofia City People's Council employee, whose signature our reporter did not manage to make out. The text of the letter specifically states that the march organized by the Sofia University students is banned, which is already in contradiction with another document sent by the Sofia City People's Council to the Khorizont Program of Bulgarian Radio, in which the wording is that the council does not grant permission. Perhaps clarification of this is needed, and we wait to receive it.

Further on Demonstration

AU0203220590 Sofia BTA in English 1858 GMT 2 Mar 90

["Students March To Protest Demagogy"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 2 (BTA)—Tens of thousands of people marched in a demonstration staged in Sofia today by the Federation of Independent Students Societies under the slogan "We've had enough of demagogy." The idea was to show that part of the young people do not trust the self-renewing potential of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP].

Passers-by and people watching the march from their windows greeted the protesters, and some joined them. In front of the BCP headquarters the chants of "Demagogues" and "Down with the BCP" grew tangibly louder. In the central city square, officially known as "Ninth of September" but called "Democracy" by opposition supporters, the demonstrators were joined by more sympathizers. The speakers at the rally upheld the idea that only the Union of Democratic Forces can help Bulgaria out of the crisis. "We want a bright future but not the one we are offered," they said. "We won't struggle for power but will rather try to get it through free elections, not through terror."

The rally adopted a resolution urging for the removal of communist symbols from the Bulgarian coat-of-arms and from public buildings which do not belong to the BCP, for the restoration of the original text of the National Anthem (the version now used mentions the Communist Party and Moscow), for the country's official name to be changed to the Republic of Bulgaria, and for September 9 (which marks the beginning of the socialist period in 1944) and November 7 (the anniversary of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia) to be taken out of the list of public holidays.

The students marched through major thoroughfares along a route announced in advance, defying a municipal council decision to sanction the action provided a different route was used. The local authorities motivated their move by saying that the demonstration would "disrupt the traffic." The permission to hold the demonstration was announced shortly after the students' leader, Mr. Emil Koshlukov, made a televised statement saying that the authorities were banning the demonstration and that this would be the first such ban since the fall of Todor Zhivkov.

New National Day Celebrated Throughout Country

AU0303155590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] In Pleven thousands of people attended a ceremony at the Mausoleum of the Hero Liberators at which wreaths and flowers were also laid as a mark of gratitude by many guests from the Soviet Union and Romania. A ceremony took place in the General Lavrov Park, where honors were paid at the Common Fraternal Grave to the Russian and Finnish soldiers who fell in the battles for Bulgaria's liberation from the Turkish yoke. The metropolitan of Vratsa officiated at a requiem.

Wreaths were laid at the Freedom Memorial in Ruse on behalf of the Ruse Municipal People's Council and the leaderships of sociopolitical and mass organizations, as well as by many citizens. A big procession made its way to the Stadium of the Leaders of the Revival, where respects were paid to a host of eminent figures of the national liberation movement. The metropolitan of Ruse celebrated in the cathedral a requiem in memory of Bulgaria's liberation from Ottoman slavery.

Festive concert programs are continuing in Silistra, where the national flag was also hoisted this morning. Thankful citizens laid wreaths at the memorial to the

first Bulgarian mayor, Captain Georgi Mamarchov, who served as mayor of the town of Silistra for seven years more than one and a half centuries ago.

The citizens of Kyustendil laid wreaths and flowers as a sign of gratitude at the memorial to the legendary Ilyo Voyvoda. A festive concert is also being held there.

150,000 Opposition Supporters

AU0303181290 Sofia BTA in English 1738 GMT 3 Mar 90

["Opposition Rallies for Democracy and National Dignity"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 3 (BTA)—Over 150,000 supporters of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) flocked to a rally here today to mark Liberation Day, which was reinstated as the National Day of Bulgaria after a break of more than forty years. One placard carried by the participants featured the lion of Bulgaria trampling down a red five-pointed star.

Scholars and writers addressed the rally, recalling the historic implications of March 3, the date on which Bulgaria regained its statehood after the Ottoman rule, and drew analogies with the present-day political situation in this country.

The 1878 liberation from Ottoman rule, achieved with the assistance of Russia, was prepared by the Bulgarian national revival period which gave Bulgarians their national identity and showed them that they belonged to Europe not just geographically but intellectually and culturally. Forty-five years ago the link with Europe was forcibly severed, said Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the SDS. The entire totalitarian system is now in crisis. This crisis marks the end of the communist utopia and the triumph of liberal Western democracy, he said.

Democracy is an ideal for the Union of Democratic Forces which places national interests before party bias. National unity, national independence and sovereignty and territorial integrity are most important of all. They can only be safeguarded through democracy, along the road to the modern civilised world, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev said. Democracy and respect for human rights are the key to the solution of ethnic and national problems. The SDS Leader again declared himself in favour of elections for a constituent Grand National Assembly to draft a new democratic Constitution and a new electoral law.

Discussing the dramatic events in modern Bulgarian history, Prof. Dr. Nikolay Genchev, a historian, said that the past has to be reviewed because history has been vulgarized under pressure from the totalitarian regime with the help of the so-called "class and party approach." It has gone so far as to encroach on Bulgarian national dignity. Everything which was against the interests of the regime used to be labeled reactionary. History was falsified. The censorship was particularly touchy about Bulgaro-Russian relations. The scholar listed some events and personalities which were banned subjects of study because they upheld the Bulgarian cause in the face of Russia's designs. Giving due credit to the Russian people for the liberation, Prof. Genchev demanded constitutional guarantees that what he described as the "profanation of Bulgarian historical values throughout the last four decades" will never be repeated.

Prof. Elka Konstantinova, leader of the Radical Democratic Party, said that neither the patience nor the famous Bulgarian stoicism can now save the country. Mr. Yordan Vasilev, editor-in-chief of the DEMOKRATSIYA daily, and the writers Mr. Georgi Mishev, Mr. Marko Ganchev and Mr. Vasil Stanilov warned against the danger of a "creeping restoration of the old system" and criticized the slow progress towards democracy.

The rally heard read a message of greetings from the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

Thousands sang along as a Church Slavonic chant, "Many Years", was played after the old Bulgarian National Anthem, which has been banned over the last few years and which is derived from a battle song used by Bulgarian volunteers in the 1877-1878 Russo-Turkish War of Liberation.

Today's rally was the finale of a SDS-declared week of protests against the slow pace of democratic change. The week was launched by a 200,000-strong rally on February 25. Every evening since then tens of thousands of Sofianites attended two-hour silent vigils, parties affiliated to the SDS staged their own rallies, and the students held a demonstration. "This ends the winter of our discontent and begins the spring of our struggle," an opposition leader told last Sunday's rally.

Mladenov Speaks at Sofia Meeting

AU0303201290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] A festive meeting dedicated to 3 March, Bulgaria's National Day, took place today in the Ivan Vazov National Theater in Sofia. The meeting was organized by the State Council and the Sofia City People's Council.

This day has a profound meaning for every Bulgarian, because it contains the idea of revival and salvation. These were the first words of the address delivered by State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov.

Later in his address he said that this holiday draws attention to the unchanging values of nationhood, which provide points of support at times of radical change such as now. The third of March reminds us of the integrity and the fact of the Bulgarian nation's existence, of the need to rise above party interest and internecine quarrels.

On today's date we go back in history to the names of notable Bulgarians: Paisiy, Levski, Botev, and Rakovski, and to the exploits of the fighting men who won our freedom. State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov said

that 3 March 1990 bridges the decades and prompts us to think deeply about the road along which the Bulgarian state has traveled. At the present time there is room under the Bulgarian flag for all parties and organizations, for all ideas and views, Petur Mladenov said.

Speeches at the meeting were also made by National Assembly deputy Kiril Zarev, a worker at the Sofia Electronics Works, and Academician Blagovest Sendov, chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

More on Mladenov Address

AU0303204690 Sofia BTA in English 1851 GMT 3 Mar 90

["Petur Mladenov Calls for Consolidation and Civilised Dialogue"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 3 (BTA)—A peaceful transition to a civilised state committed to the rule of law requires above all law and order and everybody's conscientious and constructive work for the stabilization of the economy and of the social situation, said Mr Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council, addressing a ceremony held in Sofia today to mark the country's National Day March 3, the 112th anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation from Ottoman rule.

Mr Mladenov called on all political and public forces for good political manners and civilised dialogue. This should be realised by those who hold power and who slowly and painfully shake off the mistakes and abuses piled up for decades, as well as by those who in their aspirations for power are prepared to negate eveything done during the last few decades.

[Words indistinct] should give way to human consideration for the views and the interests of a partner opponent, the State Council president said. He listed the following guarantees for the country's peaceful transition to democracy: a National Assembly free of petty bickering, democratically elected and intellectually enlightened; a competent government based on all public and political forces; a state power, democratically elected and appropriately authorized, guided solely by the people's aspirations and seeking to consolidate the country.

Mr Petur Mladenov said that now Bulgaria faces crucial question: Which way to take on the threshold of the age of reason and of mankind's unification? After more than one hundred years of statehood experience marked by vacillations and disasters, will Bulgaria embark once and for all on the road to democracy, humanism and progress, or will it let itself be drawn into the muddled torrent of selfish quarrels and baneful political maelstroms, he said.

He stressed that the emancipation of thinking after the downfall of the totalitarian system has opened the floodgates of social energy. Restructuring is only possible, however, if national interests are placed before party, group and personal interests, Mr Mladenov went on to say.

In his view Bulgaria now has all intellectual, political and material prerequisites for a smooth, peaceful and effective integration into the civilised world.

The State Council president said that the country is undergoing a real revolution in its social and political relations and in political thinking. Never before has Bulgaria drawn such earnest interest and attention on the part of the international community, which categorically approves of the democratic changes. The political formations, the national institutions, the church, the school and the Army, all participants in public life are well-intentioned to their country.

Bulgaria's advancement and prosperity is impossible to achieve without national concord, said the State Council president in winding up his remarks. He pointed out that March 3 reminds one of the integrity and indivisibility of the Bulgarian nation and calls for rising above prejudice and internal strife.

BCP's Pirinski: Roundtable To Resume 5 Mar

AU0303195190 Sofia BTA in English 1908 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 3 (BTA)—The National Roundtable talks will be resumed on Monday, March 5, after nearly a month's break, said Mr. Georgi Pirinski, deputy chairman of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Supreme Council, speaking on National Television this evening.

Mr. Pirinski, who heads the Communist Party delegation to the talks, announced that yesterday he reached agreement with the chief negotiator of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) on the resumption of the roundtable discussions, first in the contact group, and later in the week at a plenary session.

The sides are expected to work out a precise definition of the roundtable's status and after that to discuss parallelly the political system agreement and the government's draft of an economic crisis-management programme.

Concerning the SDS suggestion that elections be held in June for a constituent assembly, Mr. Georgi Pirinski said that the proposal has to be studied, but expressed reservations, saying that this would delay the process of democratisation and the economic reforms.

The deputy chairman of the BCP Supreme Council deplored the failure of the official authorities and of the opposition to agree on a joint celebration of the National Day March 3.

Mr. Pirinski, who paid a working visit to the United States last week, said there were chances of Bulgaria's establishing direct business ties with individual states in the United States.

On Postponing Roundtable

AU0203130690 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Feb 90 pp 1,6

[Interview with Georgi Pirinski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Supreme Council and Bulgarian Communist Party spokesman at roundtable talks, with unidentified RABOTNICHESKO DELO reporter; place and date not given: "The Truth About the Roundtable"]

[Text] [RABOTNICHESKO DELO] In a declaration read by Georgi Spasov, spokesman of the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF], the union blames the Communist Party for "torpedoing" the roundtable. Is this true?

[Pirinski] The work of the roundtable talks has currently acquired an even greater, new importance as a forum of constructive dialogue and as an instrument of achieving national consensus on the most crucial issues of development in our society.

The Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Supreme Council accordingly submitted a proposal on enhancing the roundtable's role as a forum for the achievement of specific agreements which the participants should commit themselves to implementing. The BCP, in particular, proposed that the present nature of the roundtable's work should be improved by making the roundtable talks more effective, more competent, and more productive.

This is precisely the approach applied by the BCP in preparing the text of an agreement on the country's political system. As a result of the work accomplished within the contact group on 16 February, the participants in the group exchanged texts, the major part of which were adopted with mutual consent, while a few still remain to be further specified.

At the aforementioned meeting, it was agreed that the leaders of the participating sides should separately examine the exchanged texts and that a new meeting should be held on 19 February 1990 for completing the textual version of the envisaged agreement.

According to a verbal agreement, the contact group held a new meeting on 19 February at which work on the texts was pursued on the basis of the discussions within the leaderships of the respective participating sides. Specific editorial details and still unresolved essential questions were discussed, including the question about the National Assembly elections scheduled for the first quarter of 1990.

In the meantime the BCP leadership took the initiative of proposing an alternative solution to the final version of an agreement on the political system with the purpose of improving its structure. It also proposed a further specification of the final version and addenda to some texts, including an addendum related to the general definitions contained in international treaties on which our country has assumed basic commitments (such as on the human rights issue).

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] Can you describe the specific points of your disagreement with the UDF?

[Pirinski] As our public knows, the UDF categorically insisted on eliminating party organizations in workplaces. As a result of the efforts devoted to solving this controversial issue, a delicate compromise on the organizational structures of all parties, envisaging that no such organizations should be established in workplaces, was considered. At the same time, however, the parties should be entitled to establish clubs and associations based on common interests, but on a territorial principle.

The right of establishing clubs and associations based on territorial principles is inscribed in the initial version of the text, which according to the UDF spokesman, was discussed and adopted by the union's Coordination Council. Only two days later, however, the UDF leadership renounced this decision at rallies and in official statements submitted to the television.

This is the truth about the progress of work on a future agreement and on the meeting held at the initiative of the Supreme BCP Council with the UDF chairman on 22 February 1990. It was pointed out at this meeting that the proposed version is a well-meaning effort to complete the final text by taking into consideration the wording which was also approved by the UDF Coordination Council. It was pointed out that, as is known, the BCP has considerably different views on certain other issues, but that a constructive and mutually acceptable compromise should be sought in this case. There is no question of adopting a new stand in the negotiations, but of the sincere desire to preserve the already achieved consensus and to guarantee a successful conclusion of the work related to a future agreement.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] What do you say about the other accusations expressed in the UDF declaration?

[Pirinski] In addition to the incorrect interpretation about the progress of our work in preparing a future agreement, the UDF's 23 February declaration contains several biased statements and conclusions related to the BCP's approach and intentions related to the roundtable talks.

—In the first place, we should point out that the BCP firmly supports the view of the roundtable's role as a guarantor for the irreversible nature of the democratic process and its conviction that the National Assembly, the government, and all other state institutions can implement their functions only under the circumstances of a national consensus. These arguments are contained in the BCP delegation's proposal and in our declaration on the role and status of the roundtable talks. Our entire public can assure itself that it is the UDF itself, represented by its leader Zhelyu Zhelev,

which refused to agree with this declaration at the plenary session of the roundtable on 12 February 1990.

—It is the BCP itself which through its parliamentary group initiated not only one but a whole series of legislative changes, including amendments to the Constitution itself, changes which have already provided considerably favorable conditions for the democratization of the political system and for holding free and democratic elections in our country. In addition to this, as you know, Deputy State Council Chairman Vasil Mruchkov officially submitted a proposal on basic principles related to the draft law on political parties to the 12 February session of the roundtable. Special editorial committees, composed of two members from each side of the roundtable and in charge of working on every single draft law that is expected to be discussed at the National Assembly, were established within the framework of the contact group. The BCP representatives are by no means responsible for the fact that these working groups could not proceed to their specific tasks.

Opposite to the claims of the aforementioned declaration, the BCP is by no means striving for an onesided enforcement of decisions on the questions discussed. On the contary, two letters were addressed by the chairman of the National Assembly Legislative Commission to the co-chairmen of the roundtable, inviting them to join the commission's sessions in discussing the relevant draft laws. As a result of these invitations, representatives of the roundtable, including members of the UDF delegation, attended last week's sessions of the Legislative Commission.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] Is there a future for the roundtable?

[Pirinski] The most topical question today is how to proceed further. The UDF seems to have reached a crossroad. On the one hand, its members declare their readiness for pursuing the dialogue, on the other hand they apply methods of pressure outside the roundtable hall.

It is evident that the UDF must make up its mind along which path it intends to proceed. The further development of the political process greatly depends on this decision.

Miners TU Chairman: Podkrepa Fomenting Strikes

AU0203145490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] We continue to receive information about strikes. We have learned that the miners are also on strike. Let us listen to Stefan Milenkov, chairman of the Federation of Trade Union Organizations of Mines, Metallurgy, Energy Industry, and Geology, in order to learn more details.

The Central Miners Strike Committee attached to the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation is once again making use of uncivilized means. It is issuing disinformation in connection with Council of Ministers Decrees No. 60 of 13 December 1989 and No. 7 of 24 January 1990 concerning the grading of jobs in underground mines and opencast workings, to the effect that [words indistinct] are on strike, and so on. This is a complete fabrication, the aim of which is to undermine confidence in the miners collectives and disrupt the rhythm of production. A call is made for a national strike. Under the influence of the incitement, at the moment the only workers on strike are the miners of the 9 September Mine and the Druzhba Mine of the Rare Metals State Economic Trust, the Partisan Mine of the group of mines in Svoge, the (Kilopech) Mine in Srednogorie, and certain sectors of the Bobov Dol Economic Mining Combine.

The motives for the strike committee's call are easy to see, namely to steadily gain influence and authority for itself, irrespective of the means by which this may be achieved, and to produce complete disorientation, disinformation, and economic chaos.

We appeal to the miners collectives throughout the country. Only by reasonable means, civilized dialogue, and negotiations it is possible to achieve a result in connection with the presented demands. At the moment the Federation of Trade Union Organizations of Mines, Metallurgy, Energy Industry, and Geology is conducting a dialogue with the special commission of the Council of Ministers to seek a settlement of the problems raised and the miners' demands within the time scale determined in accordance the National Assembly's declaration.

The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria supports our demands and is taking part in the negotiations.

Dear Miners, do not give in to the provocations. Our country is counting on your civic awareness in order to emerge from the economic crisis.

Moscow Meeting Marks Bulgarian National Day

AU0203220290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Many citizens, representatives of public organizations and central government departments, and Bulgarian workers and students living the Soviet Union gathered today in the House of Friendship Between Peoples in Moscow to mark the 3 March National Day.

Professor Vladimir Volkov, director of the Slavic and Balkan Studies Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and a member of the leadership of the Soviet-Bulgarian Friendship Association, delivered an address.

GATT Director General Dunkel Visits

Speaks to Newsmen

AU0103074790 Sofia BTA in English 2132 GMT 28 Feb 90

["Arthur Dunkel: 'We'll Advance Cooperation'"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 28 (BTA)—Mr. Arthur Dunkel, director-general of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), believes in the opportunity to advance cooperation between that international organisation and Bulgaria. Mr. Dunkel, who arrived here today, told the press that the idea of his visit was to get to know each other better with a view to Bulgaria's accession to GATT and the integration of the Bulgarian economy into the world economy.

The guest stressed GATT's desire for an early and positive completion of the negotiations with Bulgaria.

Mr. Arthur Dunkel discussed the need for a diversification of the Bulgarian economy, for an entry in new markets, and for investment boosting the competitive strength of Bulgarian exports.

Talks With Andrey Lukanov

AU0103074990 Sofia BTA in English 2119 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 28 (BTA)—Mr. Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, today familiarized in detail Mr. Arthur Dunkel, director-general of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), with his government's crisis management programme. The Bulgarian head of government stressed that the programme is consistent with the basic principles and standards of GATT, of the International Monetary Fund and of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Bulgaria recently applied for admission to those international institutions.

The Bulgarian premier said that the crisis-management measures will cut the budget deficit, will reduce subsidies to the enterprises, and will liberalize prices of commodities except for basic consumer goods.

Discussing Bulgaria's trade policy, Mr. Lukanov stressed this country's readiness to cooperate with the principal international monetary institutions in drafting a programme to overcome the difficulties in the foreign debt servicing this and next year, as well as to secure additional foreign currency earnings from exports.

The guest made a special point of the measures concerning agriculture and tourism, saying that they will open up worthwhile opportunities to cope with the economic difficulties, including the shortage of foreign currency.

Meets Boyko Dimitrov, Departs

AU0103175390 Sofia BTA in English 1721 GMT 1 Mar 90

["A. Dunkel: Useful Visit"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 1 (BTA)—We paid a 24-hour-long visit here during which we discussed the fundamental problems of the economic reform in Bulgaria, Mr. Arthur Dunkel, director general of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), said to journalists before leaving the country. I think that the economic reforms in Bulgaria will make Bulgaria's joining GATT considerably easier.

The guest had talks with Mr. Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs, to discuss what help the Ministry of Foreign Affairs can give to the process of Bulgaria's joining GATT. Mr. Arthur Dunkel highly appreciated the economic programme of the government and expressed evaluated positively the pace at which the changes are carried out.

At the meeting with Mr. Petur Bashikarov, minister of foreign economic relations, attention was focussed on the planned changes in taxation and pricing policy aimed at the assertion of market mechanisms in the country's economy.

The GATT director general had talks with Mr. Stefan Stoilov, minister without portfolio of the economic reform problems, and with Mr. Georgi Pirinski, deputy chairman of the BCP Supreme Council.

According to Bulgarian officials, based on his huge international experience, Mr. Arthur Dunkel made valuable recommendations as to the economic reform in Bulgaria which will help expedite Bulgaria's joining GATT.

Soviet Official Says Troop Withdrawal on Course

LD0203204890 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] The Czechoslovak border has already been crossed by two trainloads of military equipment in the framework of the withdrawal of Soviet troops, and other trainloads are currently being prepared. Colonel General Grinkevich, chief of staff [as heard] of the Soviet Ground Forces, said the timetable for the units' withdrawal is being strictly maintained.

Some 60-65 percent of the Soviet troops and equipment is to be withdrawn from Czechoslovakia this year, and the remainder next year.

Machinery To Be Removed

LD0303230390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Summary] Since 24 February five trainloads of Soviet troop heavy technological goods have left Frenstat railway station. Another two trains are to leave by tomorrow. Trucks are now arriving from the surrounding areas and a convoy of heavy military machinery will leave tomorrow in the direction of Roznov, across the Beskydy hills, through the Tatras to the border.

Adviser Reviews Talks

LD0403113390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0830 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Commentary by Dr. Jaroslav Sedivy, adviser to the foreign minister]

[Text] It has not even been three months since we began to forge a new foreign policy; yet looking back, the progress we have made now seems almost incredible, particularly in comparison with the years when our society was moving forward at the speed of mud. Three months ago we said that if we were to build a foreign policy of our own based primarily on the need of our state, that state had to be a fully sovereign one. That, then, was the genesis of our first foreign policy task: To negotiate the total withdrawal of the Soviet Union's troops for our territory.

Today, with the first phase, the negotiation phase, already under our belts with the recent signing of the agreement on the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia, it all seems simple but the truth is quite the reverse. The negotiations were neither straight forward nor simple, and this is illustrated by the two sides' initial positions.

At first the Soviet Union was totally unprepared to address the issue of the troops' departure. It only wanted to talk about their presence in Czechoslovakia in terms of a new legal basis on conventional forces in Europe [CFE] and linking their withdrawal to the Vienna talks. For the sake of interest, under this Vienna process the Soviets originally contemplated withdrawing 5,500 troops by 1990, once again invoking the danger of German revanchism, Warsaw Pact interests, and so on.

However, we insisted that the troops' entry was unlawful, that the agreement concluded subsequent to their entry was negotiated under duress and thus invalid, that it was a bilateral issue, and that we were prepared to talk not about the troop presence in our country, but about securing their earliest possible withdrawal; we declared this to be an issue of absolutely pivotal importance for further Czechoslovak-Soviet relations.

I do not intend to describe the talks in detail; they were tough, but correct. I do not think that Soviet politicians have often found themselves meeting for talks with an allied state that had such a clear and thoroughly planned position with the intention of sticking to that position.

This experience offers four important conclusions:

First, this is perhaps the first time in modern history that a major power is withdrawing its troops from the territory of a second state on terms negotiated and agreed beforehand. In other cases, the major power has simply announced its own say-so and timeframe for pulling out. This shows that both sides are genuinely interested in insuring that future relations have a clean start.

Second, the talks took place on our terms, and this, too, is something that tends to be the exception in talks between a major power and a smaller state, so this is not a troop withdrawal hinging on the outcome of the Vienna CFE talks, but a total pullout in the shortest possible timeframe, negotiated as a bilateral issue, an act enshrined in the form of an agreement providing for the settlement in law of property issues.

Thirdly, it transpires that not only did our talks not undermine the Soviet position in Vienna, as the Soviet politicians had feared; they contributed to even more favorable progress in Vienna. Before the talks began, the United States announced that its own troop cuts in Europe, to go down to not only to 275,000, but to as few as 200,000 troops, was subsequently cut even further, to 195,000, by President Bush.

Fourth and last, I would like to emphasize something that seems to be very important for the future of our relations with the Soviet Union and for our foreign policy in general. Sitting around the negotiating table were two equal delegations, defending their positions down to the last point, but what clinched this first step forward, this first minor victory, was natural justice. The principles and methods of these talks are and will continue to be a source of inspiration for the further development of our relations with the Soviet Union.

A marvellous followup to what we might call the first round of this great endeavor to put our relations with the Soviet Union on a new footing was made by the two leaders, President Havel and Mikhail Gorbachev. When the talks between the delegations ran up against a brick

wall on the issue of the final date for the Soviet troop withdrawal, Mikhail Gorbachev sent a personal message to our president setting out the reasons why the Soviet side was requesting a certain degree of understanding on our side, and only then were we able to reach a date acceptable to both sides. The president's visit to Moscow then set the seal on what had become clear during the political and expert talks on the troop withdrawal, which is that if our future relations are to have any sense of direction at all, they must be relations between two partners with genuinely equal rights, without any interference in each other's internal affairs. This is what the brief statement adopted in Moscow says, in a pedestrian sort of way.

Thus for the first time in 22 years, Mikhail Gorbachev stated on behalf of his country in the final communique something which we here in Czechoslovakia have been awaiting for a long time: The Soviet side expressed regret at what it did in August 1968.

Havel's Moscow Visit Viewed as 'Turning Point'

AU0203113390 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 28 Feb 90 p 5

[Karel Bartak commentary: "Breakthrough Toward Normality"]

[Text] The visit of President Vaclav Havel to the USSR provides proof of rapidly changing times. However, even more important is that during this visit the principles on which Czechoslovak-Soviet relations will be based from this time on were formulated and agreed upon. All the prerequisites now exist for these relations, freed from the falsehood, rhetoric, and red-tape, to become far more sincere and fruitful in the future.

They are based on the declaration of relations between the CSSR and the USSR, signed by the highest representatives of both countries on 26 February, as well as on the joint communique resulting from the visit. Both documents are the skeleton around which it will be possible to build mutually advantageous cooperation in all areas.

As far as the agreement on the Soviet troop withdrawal is concerned, its signing was the premise and, to a certain degree, the guarantee of the visit's success. The difficult negotiations of the past weeks have become a test of consistency and adherence to principles, but also a test of magnanimity, tolerance, and willingness to compromise, a test which both sides have passed.

Anyone observing the behavior of Presidents Havel and Gorbachev in the Kremlin on Monday could not have missed the great interest of both statesmen had for one another, the perceptiveness to statements and arguments of the other side, and the very responsible yet relaxed attitude. Both President Havel and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, in their talks with journalists, stressed the absolute openness of all the discussions.

As Jiri Dienstbier said, the foundations were laid for the "normalization" of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations, which are losing exclusivity without losing their potential for success. The relations will be normal in the sense that they will be governed by the principles used among civilized nations. The relations will be free of the ideological overtones and harmful emotionality which, due to historical experience and the rapidity of changes, understandably appear on both sides time and again.

The [CSSR] president's visits to the United States and the Soviet Union made it possible to see the Czechoslovak position in the world more clearly, to balance Czechoslovak external policy, and to define Czechoslovakia's identity in the international community. The significant aspects of this bilateral framework cannot be overlooked as Czechoslovakia's attachment to the European integration process in overcoming the bloc structures or its attitude toward German unification is confirmed. These attitudes, heard both in Washington and Moscow, were undoubtedly noted with interest, and are counted on by the international community.

With respect to the Czechoslovak postwar history, this visit was a turning point. Its ending on a positive note is therefore very important. The task now is to translate into reality relations that are based on the certainty of mutual advantageousness, mutual respect, and, self-evidently, respect for state sovereignty. Adherence to them will be a contribution toward stability in Europe.

Havel's U.S. Congess Speech Seen as Positive

AU0203114490 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Feb 90 p 7

[Julius Lorincz commentary: "Aware of Responsibility"]

[Text] Hardly had our president, Vaclav Havel, finished his speech to the U.S. Congress, when fellow journalists began to work on various statistics and comparisons — how many times the Czechoslovak president was applauded, how long the applause lasted, who received greater applause and who a lesser one, etc. One journalist equated his unconventionality, directness, and originality of thinking to the personality of the eighties, Mikhail Gorbachev, disregarding the fact that the Soviet politician is a Marxist, whereas Vaclav Havel, even in the Congress, declared that his opinion regarding the primacy of being or consciousness is just the opposite of what Marxists believe.

It is possible, in many respects, to both agree and disagree with the content of President Vaclav Havel's speeches — and it is good that nowadays such things can be openly spoken and written about — but he cannot be denied a definite quality: inventiveness in thinking and exploring such solutions to the problems of today's world which defy the habits of routine politics. Sometimes he is guilty of simplification and one-sidedness, as, for example, in Congress when he indiscriminately described the United States as a force which, after World War II, "was defending freedom" and the USSR as a

force which was "inducing fear". It should not be forgotten that immediately after Word War II plans for a nuclear attack against the USSR originated in the United States, that the United States has on its conscience, for example, the wars in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia in the sixties and early seventies, the attempt to invade Cuba, the aggression against Grenada in the eighties and, quite recently, the attack against Panama. A great number of Americans are, even today, of the opinion that the Vietnam war can hardly be characterized as a "defense of freedom" .... For example, the well-known singer Joan Baez, who experienced the last big air raid by American strategic bombers on Hanoi first hand in that city in Vietnam in 1972, could tell stories about it. Naturally, the same need for an objective assessment applies also to the role of the Soviet Union.

Of course, the important parts of our president's speech evidently are to be found in other domains — in Europe, in the efforts for an independent Czechoslovak contribution to the solution of many problems, in stressing the inevitability of a global revolution in human consciousness, in the necessity to give priority to moral questions in the conduct of politicians, and in the shared responsibility that intellectuals have for the world. It was primarily these parts of the speech that attracted attention. In them he not only positively contributed to considerations about current world problems but also to the complicated and controversial process of finding solutions. For example, the elimination of bipolarity in a Europe completely freed of the U.S. and USSR military presence on foreign territories (in Washington, so far, they have a different view on this problem—the subjects of NATO and a limited American military presence are almost taboo) is supposed to help the transition to the era of multiple polarity, i.e. to a real democratization of relations between states and nations. In this connection it was good to hear that President Havel explicitly drew attention to the relief which this would bring to the third world, or to its biggest part, which we are used to calling the developing world. Undoubtedly, it is necessary to take new steps in Europe, in the interest of all this and in connection with the new situation on our continent. From Helsinki 1, which conserved and stabilized postwar relations, we should, by the joint efforts of all interested parties, arrive as soon as possible at Helsinki 2, which would be the "equivalent of a peace conference which has not taken place yet in Europe."

What matters in the speech to the U.S. Congress is that Vaclav Havel had something to tell the world and that he did so as the Czechoslovak President. He did so with a sense for reality, with an understanding of where the most painful problems lie, and with the awareness of responsibility not only for the word but also for the deed.

Foreign Minister Dienstbier on Diplomatic Tour

On Europe's 'Returning to Itself'

LD2803223490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Interview with Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier by station correspondent Ivan (?Cuhra) in Copenhagen on 28 February—recorded]

[Text] [Dienstbier] My talks in Copenhagen were very friendly as was expected since Mr. Minister Jensen, whom we met in Prague last year had invited us to dinner as the opposition—that is, as the stokers and window cleaners—and, particularly important, he also invited at that time Vaclav Havel and Jana Petrova who had just been sentenced to go to prison. They could not take part in the dinner, but, naturally, this was quite an unprecedented show of support on the part of a foreign minister who visited Czechoslovakia. I think that all these people who such a long time ago understood the help needed for democratic forces in Czechoslovakia are naturally very appreciated and that is why our relations with Mr. Jensen are friendly, and I think that we will soon conclude all the necessary agreements.

[(?Cuhra)] Today's trade union and social democratic daily AKTUELT calls you the architect working on the map of new Europe in which Czechoslovakia should have a central political place. What would you say about this?

[Dienstbier] Well, naturally, it is very noble and very pleasing to see that they write about me in this way. I do not think that we have managed to enough in the past two-and-a-half months to deserve such praise. But in this case I think—and this is the basis of our foreign policy—that we are obliged, in view of our position and our historical traditions, in view of the fact that we are at the border of the two blocks which have so far separated Europe, to play a very active role, to participate in the transition from the bipolar block structure to a new understanding of security so that it is not only we who are returning to Europe, but that Europe as a whole might be returning to itself and be uniting on the principle of those joint values that have been forming here for thousands of years.

Sees Normalization With Denmark Soon

LD2802224290 Prague CTK in English 2045 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Copenhagen Feb 28 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier paid today a one-day working visit to Denmark to discuss the development of bilateral relations above all in the political and humanitarian spheres.

He met with Danish Premier Poul Schluter to exchange opinions on the all-European process, with special focus on the unification of Germany.

Jiri Dienstbier was also received by Prince Frederick.

According to a statement of Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Spokesman Lubos Dobrovsky the reception of the Czechoslovak foreign minister by prominent Danish representatives is an expression of the Danish Government's and public interest in Czechoslovakia in its new form.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister stressed at a press conference that agreements which would lead to the full normalization of relations between Czechoslovakia and Denmark will be quickly prepared, and mentioned inter alia an agreement in support and protection of investments and exchange of students. He also expressed the conviction that an agreement on visa-free travels will be concluded. The process of rapprochement of the two German states should be used as moving power for accelerating the all-European process, he underlined.

Czechoslovakia supports Poland's demand for guarantees that its Western borders will be respected by unified Germany, the Czechoslovak foreign minister stressed.

Later today Jiri Dienstbier left for Amsterdam.

Meets Netherlands' Finance Minister

LD0203014890 Prague CTK in English 2035 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] The Hague March 1 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier met here Thursday with Dutch Deputy Premier and Minister of Finance Wim Kok.

Besides the questions concerning the development of bilateral relations, the Czechoslovak minister discussed with his Dutch partner the possibility of Czechoslovakia's participation in the European integration groupings. He underlined Czechoslovakia's interest in setting-up the seat of the bank for reconstruction and development of the East European countries in Prague.

Jiri Dienstbier stressed at a news conference the significance of the Helsinki process, the talks about the reduction of conventional forces in Europe and a solution to the question of the unification of Germany.

Dealing with the present development in the Soviet Union, the Czechoslovak minister said that the democratization process in its society is necessary for the prevention of destabilization in Europe. At the close of the conference Jiri Dienstbier repeated that Czechoslovakia does not seek financial aid abroad, but possibilities of further cooperation.

Summarizes Netherlands Talks

LD0203112790 Prague Television Service in Czech 2100 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] The [name indistinct] Hotel was the venue for a meeting between the Czechoslovak foreign minister and significant public figures and businessmen of The Netherlands, who showed extraordinary interest in the situation in Czechoslovakia. Jiri Dienstbier spoke about the postwar development in our republic, and the 40 years of the totalitarian regime. He called to mind the Masaryk tradition and the democratic leanings of the Czechoslovaks.

Giving a press conference for both the Netherlands and foreign newsmen, Jiri Dienstbier spoke about the importance of stepping up cooperation in Europe. He stressed the importance of concluding agreements with the European Communities, and in this context he referred to talks he is to have tomorrow in Brussels. The press conference went on to deal with the coming parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia. Jiri Dienstbier explained the role Civic Forum is going to play in them.

Moving on to the current international situation, the Czechoslovak foreign minister said, among other things, that it must be in the interests of everyone for the process of democratization to take place in the Soviet Union, and for no manifestations of destabilization to occur. Jiri Dienstbier wound up by saying that in his talks abroad he was not asking for financial help, because we have to resolve our problems ourselves.

[Begin recording] [Dienstbier] I think the most important thing is that we have agreed that any Czechoslovak cooperation and support has to be coordinated. For the time being, the situation is, regrettably, that we do not yet have adequately developed structures for coordinating assistance, but we are working fast on that to enable us to quickly conclude appropriate agreements, as far as Czechoslovak legislation is concerned, on some sort of coordination centers. To be specific, The Netherlands side is willing to provide grants for our students, organize exchange trips, and so forth. One thing which is very important is cooperation in the sphere of communications, above all telecommunications, because how soon we manage to link in to the European network depends on how much we can improve all our networks. These, I think, are the most important things, but of course we talked about all kinds of things.

[Unidentified questioner] Did you discuss the problem of German unification?

[Dienstbier] Well we spoke about that briefly, because we had already discussed it with the minister in Ottawa, and we intend to continue these discussions because, of course, the German question is today becoming the most important issue in Europe. In our view, however, the resolution of the German question should not be an isolated issue, but a kind of driving-force for European unification, for speeding up the reunification of Europe,

and for creating new structures in the framework of the Helsinki process. [end recording]

Requests More Cooperation With EC

LD0203172290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Belgium—Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier held talks in Brussels today with Frans Andriessen, vice president of the EC commission for external relations and trade policy. They discussed specific measures to speed up further cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the EC. They briefed one another on the possiblity of involving Czechoslovakia in cooperation with the group of 24 states which have so far been granting economic aid to Poland and Hungary.

At a press conference, Jiri Dienstbier made it clear that Czechoslovakia is in a different situation than those two countries; in its case they would be discussing a request not for economic or financial aid, but for general cooperation with the 24 states.

Favors EC Membership

LD0203223290 Prague CTK in English 1855 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Brussels March 2 (CTK correspondent)—"I think all of us should be members of one European Community", Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier stressed here today after meeting EC Trade Commissioner Frans Andriessen.

He said that Czechoslovakia wants to join the EC as quickly as possible.

His deputy Zdenek Pirek pointed out that the Coordinating Committee (Cocom) should not prevent a second generation agreement on cooperation of Czechoslovakia with the West European "12". These restrictions should be removed for Czechoslovakia, he added.

When receiving Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel's message, vice-chairman of the EC Commission in charge of external relations and commercial policy Frans Andriessen said that the European cOmmunities are willing to fully help Czechoslovakia in this process. He stated he would submit to the member states ministers on Monday an EC commission recommendation to open talks on a new extensive agreement on economic and trade cooperation with Czechoslovakia.

He said the EC commission had informed the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament that it is possible that Czechoslovakia join the EC providing it completes its political and economic reforms. The commission will give more details about the form of agreements on association of Czechoslovakia and other countries at a session of the member states ministers on April 28.

Andriessen pointed out that as to the Czechoslovak memorandum asking for help from the group of 24 advanced states, their representatives approved at a session in Brussels on February 16 to comply with this application as soon as some political and economic conditions are fulfilled. He added that he sends a delegation to Prague next week whose information will enable the "group 24" to take adequate measures.

Conveys Message to EC President

LD0203222890 Prague CTK in English 1804 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Brussels March 2 (CTK correspondent)—Visiting Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier handed here today a message from Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel to President of the Commission of the European Communities Jacques Delors.

"We are ever more aware in Czechoslovakia these days that our return to Europe, from which we were kept apart for 40 years, must be connected with new models of creative cooperation," the Czechoslovak president said in his message.

The revolutionary changes in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe have been also inspired by the desire to return back to European civilization. The integration efforts of the European Communities and democratization processes in the East European and Central European countries have a common denominator—the need for a free and socially just community of independent and equal nations.

"We know that education will play the key role in overcoming the division of our continent. For us this is especially topical...therefore we see our return to Europe in the integration in the modern streams of European thinking and education," Vaclav Havel stressed in his message.

"We would very much appreciate the creation of a special program of education for Czechoslovakia...we are convinced that the realization of the proposals included in the memorandum of the Czechoslovak government would be an expression of solidarity of industrial democracies with the effort of the Czechoslovak people for renaissance of democracy in our country," Vaclav Havel underlined.

Holds Talks With NATO Official

LD0303142290 Prague CTK in English 1334 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Brussels March 3 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier ended here Saturday his visit to Belgium by meeting NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner, and left for home later today.

Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman Lubos Dobrovsky commented on this meeting saying it was significant not only from the point of view of publicity, but was also of practical importance. The Czechoslovak minister had an opportunity to explain to the NATO

leading representative the fundamental principles of Czechoslovakia's policy towards the two military-political blocs. The alliance has, moreover, offered to Czechoslovakia 60 scholarships for post-graduate students specialized in politology, economics and sociology.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister is only the second Warsaw Treaty minister to visit NATO headquarters after his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze, who visited Brussels last December.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier described the talks with NATO representatives as very interesting and full of understanding. In a short statement for foreign journalists he said they discussed many issues concerning European security, including German unity and agreed to continue these necessary and useful talks.

Speaking to reporters after the meeting the NATO secretary-general praised Jiri Dienstbier's knowledge and his great contribution to political understanding and Czechoslovakia's return to democracy, which were confirmed also by the permanent representatives of the 16 NATO member states Jiri Dienstbier also met with. Manfred Woerner described building of new relations in Europe, their security structures corresponding with the interests of all European states, the USA and the Soviet Union as the most important issue the two politicians dealt with.

Havel Congratulates Nicaragua's Chamorro

AU0203114390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Feb 90 p 1

[CTK report: "Letter to Nicaragua"]

[Text] Prague—Yesterday, President Vaclav Havel sent a letter to Mrs. Violetta Chamorro congratulating her on her victory in the Nicaraguan elections. The letter states: Dear Violetta, I am pleased that your party won the elections in Nicaragua. I have always considered you to be a democrat able to create in your country a system which is close to my heart.

Sincerely yours, Vaclav Havel.

New Laws Protect Assembly, Association, Petition

AU2802151690 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "New Draft Laws; Report From a CSSR Government Session"]

[Text] Prague—Citizens have the right to assemble peacefully. The enforcement of this law—which incorporates the right to hold processions and demonstrations—will enable citizens to take advantage of freedom of speech and other constitutional rights and liberties, to exchange information and views, and to participate in resolving public and other social matters by making known their stances and points of view. Prior permission from a state organ is not necessary for the right to assemble.

The draft law on the right to assemble, which the CSSR Government approved yesterday so that it can be submitted to the Federal Assembly for discussion, proceeds from such principles. Three other draft laws indispensable for the democratic functioning of society—laws on the right to association, a petition law, and partial amendments to the press law—were also prepared in this spirit.

In harmony with international agreements on civil and political rights, the draft law on the right to assemble proceeds from the fact that exercising this right must not be restricted in any way and that all exclusions from this principle—exclusions necessary, for example, in the interest of national security, public order, or protecting the rights and freedoms of others—have to be determined by law and not merely by a decree or any other sublegal norm. What is not prohibited is permitted. No further provisions for this law will be issued.

The draft takes into account an organizer's obligation to inform the national committee in advance that an assembly or procession will take place. If the national committee does not post its decision to prohibit an assembly on its official notice board within a determined deadline, the organizer may hold the assembly. It is possible to appeal to the courts against prohibition. The draft law also takes into account the possibility of spontaneous assembly, for example, in situations when citizens immediately react to important events and assemble without prior permission. An assembly may also be dissolved—in the words of the draft—"if circumstances arise which would justify its prohibition." Such circumstances include, for example, denying or restricting citizens' rights, provoking hatred and intolerance, manifestations of violence, and violations of the Constitution and laws.

From the law on the right to assemble, it follows that a national committee may establish a place in the community which would assume the role of a local "Hyde Park" for assembly without prior notice.

The draft law on citizens' association—according to which the establishment of special interest organizations, clubs, and so on, as well as the establishment of trade union organizations, will be administered—also procedes from the principle that necessary permission from a state organ is not essential to exercise this right. According to the draft, no one can be forced to become a member of any association. No one must suffer prejudice because he is a member of a certain organization, because he participates in its activity, because he supports it, or because he remains outside of it. The specification of organizations not permitted is determined directly by law. These are, for example, organizations whose aim is to deny or restrict citizens' rights and to provoke hatred and intolerance, associations which

operate at variance with the Constitution and laws, and organs which were founded undemocratically, for example, without elections and without their members' direct participation.

Armed organizations or organizations with armed elements (if these do not involve sport or agriculture) are not permitted.

Organizations are established by registering at the republic's Interior Ministry. Registration may only be rejected for reasons provided for by law. However, in such an instance, members of the preparatory committee may request the court to look into the unfavorable decision. The law also expressly restricts the course of action that may be taken by organizations' leaders toward the possible abolition of an organization.

The law on the right to petition is intended to fill a many year gap as the policy on accommodating citizens' suggestions, proposals, and complaints—as formulated by the 1960 Constitution—may, paradoxically, only be based on a government decree from the period prior to the 1958 Constitution. In the past, this situation has been abused many times to obstruct implementation of the petition law.

According to the draft law, everyone has the right—on his own or jointly with others—to appeal to state organs with requests, proposals, and complaints concerning matters of public or social interest which fall within the competence of these organs. Interference in the courts' independence may not be carried out by petition and appeals to violate the Constitution and laws may not be made by petition. No one may be prevented from exercising his right to petition and this right may not be exercised to anyone's detriment. A citizen or petition committee may appeal to citizens to lend support to a petition.

The draft law on some measures in the press and other mass information media spheres makes provision for essential legislative changes involving the removal of fundamental legal obstacles to the free operation of the mass media and to the establishment of a new periodical press. For example, the amendment removes the condition that publishers of mass information media may only be political parties or social organizations and it enables private citizens to become publishers; under certain circumstances, foreigners may also become publishers. Publishers of new titles do not have to request permission but only have to register their newspapers. Deadlines for registration and for starting to publish after registration should be shortened considerably. First and foremost, however, the annulment of the post-August law no. 127/68 on some temporary measures in the press sphere pursues the renewal of the most significant achievement of the 1968 revival process—a ban on censorship and transferring responsibility to chief editors.

A draft law on some issues associated with acquiring and losing Czechoslovak citizenship revokes all decisions on the deprivation of citizenship and removes this subject from our legal code since it was at variance with the General Declaration on Human Rights. People who have been deprived of their citizenship will be considered to be exempt from state allegiance. Whoever, according to the submitted amendment, reapplies for citizenship should not suffer prejudice.

The government approved a draft amendment to the defense law, a draft law on civilian service, and a draft law which determines the new version of the military oath and the oath of service for members of the National Security Corps and the Corrective Education Corps and which amends regular leave for soldiers undergoing basic training. At the same time, law no. 40/1974 on the National Security Corps is being altered. The aim of the proposed amendment to the defense law is, first and foremost, to shorten the length of basic training from 24 to 18 months and, among other things, to eliminate the possibility of using soldiers for various kinds of auxiliary work, for example, in agriculture. The aim of the law on civilian service is to enable those citizens whose religious beliefs or moral convictions prevent them from carrying out active military service to take part in alternative defense duties. Civilian service will be one-and-a-half times longer than basic military training. Leave for soldiers undergoing basic training will conform to leave for employees according to the Labor Code—from 10 to 15 days for every nine months spent in basic training.

The government voiced its agreement with the dissolution of Public Security emergency units in the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics. In order to professionally train new Public Security officers, special schools will be established for the Czech Socialist Republic and for the Slovak Socialist Republic.

The government also discussed a report on the state and development of the Czechoslovak Federation which will be delivered by Marian Calfa, CSSR premier, in the Federal Assembly today.

The government adopted a statement on the 42d anniversary of the February 1948 events.

Federal Assembly Holds Joint Session

First Day Reviewed

AU0103151290

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech, Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak, and Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 28 February all carry extensive correspondents' reports on the first day of the 24th joint meeting of both chambers of the CSSR Federal Assembly, held in Prague on 27 February:

The LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE 1,300-word report, published on pages 1 and 3, notes that, in addition to the new election law, the Federal Assembly passed three additional bills on 27 February. Two of these bills are

connected with the election law and regulate the activities of the supreme legislative body. Under the first bill, the mandate of the present Federal Assembly and of the Czech and Slovak National Councils expires on the day of the elections, but not later than 30 June 1990. The second bill provides for a reduction in the number of deputies to the People's Chamber of the Federal Assembly from 200 to 150. It also stipulates that the number of deputies to the Czech and Slovak National Councils is to be fixed by the national councils themselves.

The last bill approved by the Federal Assembly on 27 February concerns a change in the name of the J. A. Purkyne University in Brno to its former name—the T. G. Masaryk University.

Describing the debate on the new election law, the LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE report notes that "it was very tumultuous. Deputies of Hungarian nationality and supporters of small parties, in particular, demanded such changes to the submitted draft as would give a chance to parties representing ethnic minorities. Above all, they demanded the abolition of the five percent clause, under which only a party or a group which gets a minimum of five percent of the votes in at least one of the two republics can win a seat." In this context the LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE report quotes S. Hanak, a deputy representing the Czechoslovak People's Party (CSL), as having said in the debate that "to dispel the fears of the minorities," the CSL will "include members of national minorities in a prominent position on its lists of candidates."

Finally, the LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE report states that the Federal Assembly elected a new deputy chairman—Igor Micieta from the Freedom Party—and three new members of the Federal Assembly Presidium—Venek Silhan, Dana Nemcova, and Milos Zeman, all of them without party affiliation.

Bratislava PRAVDA's 2,000-word report on the Federal Assembly session, published on pages 1 and 2, lists the names of 12 new Federal Assembly deputies elected on 27 February. They are:

Bozena Fukova, Rakovnik; Jiri Mastalka, Plzen-1; Jiri Haas, Vsetin; Imrich Takacs, Dunajska Streda; Karol Gemesi, Dvory nad Zitavou; Ivan Laluha, Krompachy; and Miroslav Kusy, Trebisov for the People's Chamber and Tomas Ctibor, Chomutov; Jaroslav Kos, Havirov; Hvezdon Koctuch, Dunajska Streda; Peter Gecko, Sobrance; and Michal Sykora, Poprad for the Chamber of Nations. RUDE PRAVO's 1,000-word report on the session, carried on pages 1 and 2, specifies that five of the 12 newly elected deputies are members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Mastalka, Haas, Takacs, Kos, and Sykora).

Various Issues Debated

LD2802201590 Prague CTK in English 1509 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 28 (CTK)—The 24th joint meeting of the House of the People and the House of Nations of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly continued here today with a debate on the report on the state and development of the Czechoslovak Federation presented yesterday by Prime Minister Marian Calfa.

As over 50 deputies entered themselves for the debate the meeting was extended till Thursday.

The constitutional and legal committees of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly reacted to an impetus of the Assembly's Deputy Chairman Josef Bartoncik to supplement the agenda of the meeting with a debate on a constitutional bill on changing the name of the Republic. They stated that the change of the name is necessary but recommended to discuss the matter in March.

Deputy Michael Kocab spoke about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovak territory and expressed the conviction that with respecting humanitarian, technical and social aspects, the pull-out can be carried out quicker than the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty of February 26 sets, i.e. earlier than by June 30, 1991.

He repeated the supposition that the Soviet special ammunition that is being withdrawn could also contain nuclear warheads. Deputy Jaroslav Sabata expressed concern that the presence of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia would influence the freedom of the elections.

Deputy Jozef Habovstiak described the collectivization of the Czech and Slovak village in the 1950s as an exclusively political act that was to make farmers directly dependent on the state. He pointed to high state food subsidies for which the system is to be blamed not the farmers. Deputy Jozef Baksay recommended to introduce millionaire taxes that would hit new millionaires who acquired their riches thanks to the totalitarian regime.

Deputy Peter Orban addressed representatives of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry in connection with the statement of French President Francois Mitterrand during his visit to Budapest in January where he allegedly said that Hungary had lost two thirds of its territory in the two world wars. According to the deputy the president had questioned the right of nations to self-determination and the post-war borders as well.

Deputy Jiri Pospisil said that yesterday's report of Prime Minister Marian Calfa lacked clear words concerning the defence doctrine of Czechoslovakia. He pointed out that the removal of barriers on the borders between Czechoslvoakia and western states does not continue and that the possibility of the movement of citizens in border zones did not change either.

Deputy Bozena Fukova expressed the demand for a proper evaluation of the 1968 events at present. It should be cleared up who of the then deputies committed the crime of treason and invited the occupation troops to Czehcoslovakia.

Discusses Private Enterprise Law

LD0103232790 Prague CTK in English 2100 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 1 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government discussed at its session here today economic laws which create prerequisites for transition to a market economy, mainly the law on private enterprise.

Private business will also be amended by other draft laws which are underway, e.g. amendment to a law on economic relations with foreign countries and a law on joint ventures open to foreign capital.

According to the draft law on private enterprise, entrepreneurs will be allowed to employ an unlimited number of workers and, with the aim of doing business, to acquire property to unlimited extent. The bill is based on the principle of equality of all kinds of ownership. In fact it does not make any difference between enterprise of individuals and or organizations, and provides certain advantages for petty dealers, mainly in simplification of administration.

The government discussed a draft law on state enterprise and returned the former bill back for further study. In about two weeks the bill should be simplified to provide for two types of state enterprises—an enterprise with participation of the founder in management and an enterprise for meeting interests of public benefit. The government proposes to abandon autonomy in state enterprise as it has proved to be good neither in Czechoslovakia nor abroad.

The government voiced consent to a bill on joint stock companies. As Czechoslovakia does not have much experience in this respect it had to study joint stock laws of its neighbours taking into consideration Czechoslovak specifics. The new law is characterized by the following principles: state's consent is not necessary, founder of a joint stock company can be a legal or a physical person. It provides for the issue of bearer shares.

The federal government also approved a bill amending a law on social security and health insurance of employees.

It discussed in detail an amendment to the economic code which provides for equalizing all forms of enterprise.

It approved measures towards limiting the impact of tourism on the Czechoslovak market. It has become evident that differences in price levels in Czechoslovakia and e.g. Austria or the FRG cause serious problems in supplying the market in Czechoslovakia. Now, it is necessary to take some measures, e.g. absolute ban on exporting certain goods or collecting official fees etc.

The government also discussed a report on preparations for the visit by Pope John Paul II to Czechoslovakia in April.

Experiences from the work of autonomous enterprises are not good, Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Valtr Komarek told journalists at a press conference here today, stressing that state sector controlled by managers, known from Austria and Italy, has better prospects and corresponds with the current needs of Czechoslovak economy.

Commenting on concern in connection with excessive shopping in Czechoslovakia's border areas, he said that repeated closing of the borders with Austria would be a step back and therefore it is necessary to apply administrative repressive restrictions, make customs control stricter and reconsider the obligatory exchange of money, Valtr Komarek said.

Government spokesman Zbynek Fiala announced that the Czechoslovak Government relieved Jindrich Fairaizl of his post of director general of Czechoslovak Television at his own request.

Jindrich Fairaizl has been hospitalized due to aggravated health condition, Zbynek Fiala announced, adding that the government will appoint a new director general after consultations with the leadership of Czechoslovak Television.

Defense Minister Addresses Session

LD0103201490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1829 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Speech by Defense Minister Miroslav Vacek at the Federal Assembly session in Prague—live]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted: Vacek takes the floor, answers questions on popular demand to cut aircraft traffic at Bechyne, Prerov airports] In brief I could describe this situation as encountering a problem that cannot be tackled within the framework of the command of the Czechoslovak People's Army. Please excuse me for putting this bluntly. The demonstrations at our airports have already either taken place or are being organized. I would like to assure you, the deputies and our inhabitants, that we have already implemented many measures and that we have relaxed our requirements for the training of pilots. We also are aware of the fact that it does not improve the environment. On many other occasions I spoke about it and I offered certain, possibly even small, compensations which we would like to pay to the population living at these facilities. [passage omitted on his efforts to restrict traffic at Brno Airport were unsuccessful, but the trend toward restricting traffic at these airports will be continued]

I will, of course, say what will happen in Prerov, in particular. Perhaps if I give the hope that the traffic should be reduced by 50 percent in the foreseeable future, which is either in the course of or at the end of this year, it will pacify people. On this occasion, I will not

say what will be done with the traffic. Perhaps others will not be able detect it then. We have other measures in store, too, and I would like to say that the outlook is really good. We expect that either in September or October, as you know, there should be a fundamental agreement in Vienna on cutting the numbers of troops. In this case, the Czechoslovak Air Force would be substantially cut, perhaps by almost 50 percent. Thus at present, things are pretty low key, but the prospects are really good. [passage omitted: answering a question on wastefulness of the construction of a military project in the area of Sokolnice]

I state officially that the project being constructed in Sokolnice area belongs to the antiballistic defense of the state and it amounts to a radio-technical center. What is its purpose? Naturally, it is scanning the horizon, or the airspace of the whole of Moravia, among other things, and it also serves domestic air traffic, both military and civilian. [passage omitted: Apologizes to Sokolnice people and says that the project will be completed. Explains that the Army has contributed to financing local facilities, such as a construction of a sewage farm. Reads out a question on the need to pay attention to environmental issues during the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia, points out that Soviet Army training grounds are subject to Czechoslovak Army authority, and admits that not all went smoothly in the past]

I have set up an entire department, not an additional department, but one comprising other members of various departments of the Ministry of National Defense, which will monitor the departure of Soviet troops. By a decision of the premier, it also includes some officials from other ministries and their bodies, including those in charge of the environment. Things will be taken care of. The situation is perhaps worse in the barracks themselves, where I stipulated that military commissions should work together with the national committees. This means that I have created fundamental prerequisites for preventing excessive pollution. [passage omitted on question on sales of weapons to citizens by Soviet soldiers]

I will undertake measures so that our citizens from the communication media may learn about these possibilities and prevent them. However, I would like to say this much for the sake of the truth: The organs of military counterintelligence so far have established only one case in which a Soviet soldier sold a machinegun to one of our soldiers, and this was prevented. However, I will undertake further measures for this purpose.

The fourth question: Military exercises of the Czechoslovak Army and the Central Group of Troops 1-4 March—that is, the exercises start tomorrow. If you did not have a chance to follow the reports, I would like to say that the exercises of the Czechoslovak People's Army start tomorrow, with—I am not afraid to say—the symbolic participation of the Central Group of Troops. There is a justified question: Why now, during the withdrawal? The fact is that some measures are being planned on a more longterm basis. I would like to say that I have already implemented those measures recommended to me by the deputy. For the sake of your imagination, these exercises were held annually. This year, and this is the case every second year, they are under the leadership of the command of the Czechoslovak People's Army. These exercises are being supervised by the commander of the Western Military District, Lieutenant-Colonel Zacharias. Out of the numbers, which equalled about 25,000, the exercises have been reduced to the minimum. They are attended, all in all, by 6,000 soldiers of the Czechoslovak Army and 1,000 Soviet soldiers. You may also want to hear some technical numbers. I am saying there will be seven tanks from the Soviet Army, 36 military vehicles of the infantry, 10 guns, and 159 trucks. I would like to add, but in so doing I do not want to provoke any psychology of military danger here in parliament—that the Reforger exercises were recently completed on the territory of the FRG. It was announced that the numbers would be considerably reduced in comparison with the previous years, and indeed they were. About 70,000 people took part; that is essentially ten times more than ours. This is in answer to the question of Deputy Lis. Apart from this—our exercises will be conducted in the Doupov military training area—some vehicular technology will be used in the adjacent areas of Kralupy, Karlovy Vary, and the south of Karlovy Vary. [passage omitted is question by Deputy Konecny about Karlovy Vary garrison and turning over of military apartments]

I think I have it right when I say that 90 percent of the apartments from communal construction go to the Czechoslovak People's Army and the security forces. I cannot speak on behalf of the security bodies...perhaps Mr. Sacher...on behalf of the Czechoslovak People's Army. I can submit some figures: In Karlovy Vary, in the years 1986-90, 1,158 apartments, including family houses, are being built, out of which there are 669 apartments in the communal housing construction. One hundred and fifty of these apartments were planned for the Czechoslovak People's Army, out of which we received 104. We do not know if we get the rest. If I have it right, it is just over 22 percent; it is not 90 percent, which I think is a substantial difference. If the people hear this, they indeed cannot like us, and I would like to ask you: If you argue, be honest to one another. We have enough shortcomings to which you justly point. [words indistinct] For the sake of completeness: 65 profesional soldiers are waiting for apartments in Karlovy Vary. If we admit that the National Committees will not give us apartments, they will put our soldiers on waiting lists. I want to tell you that every professional soldier—not that we are making this up—moves ten to fifteen times in a lifetime. [words indistinct]

Thank you for your understanding.

Joint Session Concluded

LD0103174690 Prague CTK in English 1155 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 1 (CTK)—The joint session of the House of the People and House of Nations of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly ended here today after approving a bill on possesion of firearms and electing Dr Bohumil Repik new vice-president and judge of the Supreme court.

The meeting of the two houses, originally planned for two days, was extended after yesterday's more than 12-hour discussion in which over 70 deputies took the floor to comment on Premier Marian Calfa's report on the state of the Czechoslovak Federation, delivered on Tuesday. In spite of the differences in opinions the deputies were agreed on giving effective support to the government of national understanding.

Mohorita Speech Stresses 'National Understanding'

LD0103100190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1140 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Remarks by Vasil Mohorita, Czechoslovak Communist Party First Secretary, at the Federal Assembly session in Prague on 28 February—live]

[Text] Mr Chairman, dear colleagues, first of all, I would like to say that the report delivered yesterday by Mr. Marian Calfa can be a good point of departure for the government of national understanding in its further work. I stress the principle of national understanding not because it was I who proposed this name on that December night—and I am glad that it has been adopted—but above all because it is the principle which has been guiding us since that time in, among other things, restructuring this parliament, and it is good that this was shown once again yesterday when we made decisions on some very important legislation. On behalf of our party, I can promise that we will continue to honor this priniciple, and continue to search for what unites us in the interests of the people of this country.

To move on to that part of the report which deals with the current situation, I would simply like to draw attention to the experience gained by our party, that the tendency to see things in black and white terms is always detrimental. Forty years in the life of our people cannot, in my view, be judged in a biased way, and it can decidedly not be viewed as one great success, as the Czechoslovak Communist Party has done, nor as an utter moral and cultural decline which has undermined the whole of our national economy.

If we are drawing a dividing line today between the present and the past, if we are closing one account and opening another, then we should also, in the interests of understanding and a fair evaluation of our future actions, make an objective analysis of the circumstances in which we are making a fresh start, and it is on this that I would like to speak.

The whole development of our republic since the war has been determined, among other things, by the very strong influence of Czechoslovakia's foreign orientation and by its geographical position. Our postwar development was determined not only by the year 1948; it has its roots in the period 10 years prior to that. Munich and the role played in it by our then allies and some of our political parties, was also one of the reasons why, after this country was liberated, so many people began to believe, perhaps rather naively, in systems other than those that applied in the first republic. The fact that the expectations of the people at the time did not come to fruition is not solely the fault of Czechoslovak communists. Only once in our postwar history did our party and society try to extricate themselves from the omnipotent influence of the Soviet Union, and the result is well known. That is why today we do not want to abandon our duty to give the maximum assistance we can to renewing the country; we wish to understand the principle of national understanding as an undertaking toward its further development, its genuine democratization and humanization, and the contribution it makes to shaping a new Europe.

We understand clearly that this also means opening ourselves up to the world, but with due respect for our national interests, and in this regard we naturally expect appropriate guarantees, such as internationally guaranteed borders for the future unified Germany, which is now beyond doubt. The commitment to stable government in those places where the future of our country is being discussed applies to us too. Our program intentions share a large area of common ground with the standpoints in this government's document, but on the issue of privatization, for example, we can hardly agree that parliament should abdicate its powers on such important decisions and transfer those powers to some government office. Similarly, we will carefully monitor the development of such sensitive issues as employment, prices, wages, and the people's social guarantees which have been attained.

The process of revitalizing the economy is not and will not be a simple one for the government of national understanding, neither will it be for this parliament, to which we could give the same title. On behalf of our party, I can promise with full responsibility that it will pursue the path of accord and mutual understanding, without any party political motives.

Mohorita Speech to Prague Communists

AU2802161890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Feb 90 pp 1, 6

[Excerpt of a speech by Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, at an "all-Prague aktiv of communists" in the Palace of Culture on 19 February: "Communists and Our Society"]

[Text] I will try to be as businesslike as possible but cannot promise to be brief because the gist of the processes taking place today cannot be expressed in a concise way very well. I will speak the truth because we have to be absolutely frank and truthful to one another and must openly exchange views.

The present and the immediate future might be characterized as follows: The party is experiencing a crisis, it has suffered a heavy political defeat, and many of its members are the target of accusations and unjustified persecution. What have until now been the guarantees of the people—their standard of living and social gains—are ceasing to be guaranteed. At the same time, we are the only party capable of resisting the creation of a new power monopoly. This is conditional on one thing, however—that we become a real political force again, which means enlisting for our policy at least a part of the noncommunist public. **However, for this to happen, we must rid it of the fear of communists. We must deprive our opponents of the possibility of associating us constantly with the danger of a return to the deformations of the past. In other words, it is necessary, first and foremost, to reform the party—really and not for the sake of appearance—and convince the people of this country that this will be a different party, a party that is serious about transforming itself.**

In this way one could, in a nutshell, describe our tasks. The meeting of some of them is conditional on the meeting of the others. We cannot afford to leave out any link of this chain. There simply is no other way. Anyone attacking the absolute necessity of meeting any one of these conditions would be attacking the party's ability to exist and, by the same token, the possibility of a balance of political forces in Czechoslovakia, as well as the possibility of protecting its citizens against new totalitarian power, against a new power monopoly. This is what I would like to say first of all.

This is why everyone who today yearns for a return to the old order, for a return to the old teams of cadres, represents a danger for the party and for democratic development in Czechoslovakia. **He is, in fact, an ally of those who would love to see us on the pillory of history, who would love to see us outlawed. The party's future lies in its democratic nature, in our willingness to discard relics of the past, dogmas, and Stalinist principles, and, hence, in the ability to regain people's trust.**

Three Months After 17 November

Three months have elapsed since 17 November 1989, a sufficient period to be able to responsibly say what has, in fact, happened in society and in the Communist Party, what is happening in them now, and what is in store for us.

This is necessary, in my opinion, to stipulate the course of action for the party's further reform, to attain its unity of action, and to make it capable of regaining the requisite political influence. This concerns not only the coming days and weeks because today we are in fact laying the foundations for the entire future development of our party.

Our effort to clarify what we understand by the term **a real political force** gives rise to constant misunderstandings and polemics, however. Many people have in mind a return to the party's leading role. Others, in turn, see as a criterion the size of party membership. The notion even exists that the restoration of our real political strength dwells in the creation of some sort of iron fist leadership and in confrontationist attitudes.

Our experience is such that the leading role, though enshrined in the constitution, did not head off a political crisis. Some comrades assumed that an article in the constitution would substitute for honest and trustworthy policy. **The size of our party by no means meant that we actually had, and have, real political influence.**

What happened to all the speeches of our ideologists about the unbreakable unity between the party and the people and their exhortations that we would not allow anyone to undermine our republic? The particularly ardent supporters of the policy of the so-called iron fist in our party should call this to mind because they evidently do not understand the situation we find ourselves in today. They do not realize that the party's prestige among the public is severely shaken and that our political work must proceed from this premise. Instead of pounding our fist on the table and swearing that no compromise is possible we must engage in patient work—precisely so that we are not forced to make concessions in the face of ever new pressures, so that we can operate under normal conditions, and, instead of lamenting, can prepare ourselves properly for the elections.

What really counts in politics are the results, not applause. We do not need heroes of the moment who pompously declare something one day and the next day see, to their horror, that things are moving in a different direction and they are, once again, talking to the wind. Comrades who participated in the nationwide aktiv in Prague on 28 November certainly remember a great deal in this regard. At that time we heard the then general secretary say that we will not permit the loss of influence in the media, the abolition of the People's Militia, the abolition of party organizations at places of work, etc. We know how it all ended.

I am saying this because **we still have in our ranks quite a few zealots who poison the atmosphere in our organizations and keep shouting bombastic slogans about revolutionary struggle without saying, in fact, what specifically they want.** I will therefore say it for them. They want to return to their party chairs. They want to issue instructions and orders again; they want to rule again because they still believe that there are people—and they really exist and, unfortunately, they are not few—who had grown accustomed to and even miss this. In doing so, they misuse the deeply emotional ties of, above all, the

older comrades to the party and its past. They are bringing together compromised former members of the party apparatus. They are spreading panic, slander, and sabotaging, whenever possible, attempts at reform and at removing the sediments of the old policy from our party. This is why some of them are trying to present the changes agreed upon at the roundtable as capitulatory compromises or concessions, by means of which we have supposedly sold the fate of communists and their further activity in positions of influence, in parliaments, in the government, etc. Whom did we sell, as they put it? Politicians who failed in every respect and who have left the party and society in a woeful condition.

Who Bears Responsibility

I believe that the time has come to recall how we got into today's situation. We must start by looking for the answer to a question that smacks of the proverbial "if it were not for," but over which our members are constantly racking their brains and to which I must often reply. It is a question of whether the developments which led to 17 November could have been prevented and, if so, under what circumstances.

I am of the opinion that it was not possible to prevent the crisis-ridden development with the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] as it took shape after the entry of troops to our country in August 1968 and remained virtually unchanged until last November. None of this is changed by the indications that the action against students may have been an organized provocation.

All attempts at reform in the entire period of the last 20 years foundered, and were bound to founder, on the fact that the people who seized power in our country after August 1968 and subsequent screenings in the party and in economic and state institutions, which affected hundreds of thousands of people, were tied with and collectively compromised by these events [August 1968 and the subsequent screenings]. **Any advancing reform would have revealed the harmfulness and political misguidedness of the normalization processes, as well as the unlawfulness of the [Warsaw Pact] armies' intervention.**

The implementation of necessary reforms would have inevitably raised the question of political responsibility for those aberrations, which would have had far-reaching consequences, including punishing the chief protagonists of the post-August policy. This is why attempts at reform could not succeed. This is also why restructuring, which the former party leadership embraced at the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee, remained just on the plane of proclamations. Actual political practice, on the other hand, was heading toward the further consolidation of centralism and bureaucratic and administrative management.

The economy and other spheres of social life were thus stagnating, even though, for the sake of truth, it needs to be realized that the standard of living was relatively decent and social security was guaranteed at a high level. However, the quality of these guarantees was declining fast, moreover, the resources for them were secured at the expense of development. We were thus wasting our substance and running up a debt to the future. The structure of industry continued to deteriorate, the equipment of industrial plants continued to age, scientific and technological development was falling further behind, we were unable to ensure a sufficient number of apartments, essential goods, and services, the environmental situation was deteriorating, etc. This led to the growth of general discontent.

At the same time, rank and file party members were drawing attention to the growing tension and to the accumulation of old and the emergence of ever new contradictions. However, because the internal mechanisms of democracy and internal party criticism did not work, these warnings could not have any influence on the decisions of the party leadership.

A Logical Result of Inability

Therefore, 17 November 1989 **was merely the logical outcome of a long-term crisis development when, on the one hand, the inability of leading CPCZ representatives to react to the situation in the state and in society and, on the other hand, the people's dissatisfaction fused together and resulted in a situation when—practically during the course of a few days—the crisis came to a head and the old structures' impotence was entirely uncovered.**

I am convinced that even after 17 November the party had a chance to at least partially influence development in society, but the inertia of old thinking and approaches was formidable. Among other things, it manifested itself in the point of view adopted toward the security forces' intervention against the students.

It was also conspicuous at the CPCZ Central Committee's session on 24 November. At that time, the public would still have positively accepted the fundamental cadre changes in the party's leadership as an expression of its sincere endeavor to initiate without delay the necessary reforms and negotiations with other political forces. It became apparent that the party leadership, in particular the majority of the Central Committee, was incapable of dealing with the demands of the time.

Despite all this, there was still a chance of preparing at least partial conditions for a social dialogue in the future, a dialogue in which the party would have greater political weight, scope for negotiations, better starting conditions, and a stronger position against the opposition.

The newly elected Central Committee Presidium, along with the new general secretary, however, were not able to face up to the problems confronting them. Helplessness, a lack of political balance, and the simple inability to form real policy led to the party losing any kind of initiative and to it being left behind in the wake of events. Thus, the party's crisis and the irreversible tendency toward defeat of the leadership's policy were rudely exposed; the leadership was relatively new from

the personnel point of view, but again hopelessly clung to the old thinking of the majority, and was incapable of coping under conditions of a real political struggle.

The majority of the Presidium was unwilling to reconcile itself to the altered situation, to admit that this was a **political defeat**, and, that if we have to make concessions, this should be done in an organized manner and with the least losses possible. Our party was harmed most of all by its inability to realistically think and act.

The course of action adopted by CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Otto Liska was typical. He was responsible for heading a key political and organizational section. On 29 November, he was present at a meeting of the Club of Communist Deputies in the Federal Assembly, the meeting where the deputies decided to remove Article 4 on the CPCZ's leading role from the Constitution without consulting party organs. After the deputies' decision, Otto Liska, who had held the post of deputy for four days, literally fled from the CPCZ Central Committee, and from Prague, and was not to be found for several days. He was not the only CPCZ Central Committee official who had cares other than the fate of the party.

This situation could not continue without a response from the membership base which, in the end, had to literally force the advancement of the extraordinary congress.

Thus it happened that the initiative was seized by others who at public meetings and assemblies made use of our inability to react and gradually won over the mass communication media. During the roundtable talks, the National Front's weakness and the growing divisions between our party and its partners became evident.

A Return to Activity

Our course of action at the roundtable talks was, from the very beginning, conditioned by an attempt to prevent confrontationist development which would have immense consequences for our party and for society's future fate.

We proceeded from what the extraordinary congress has confirmed and from what has become the beginning of the party's new line. This was the dividing line, **the moment when the party again began to be an active participant in the country's newly forming conditions. It is necessary to realize that during the current processes we are not passive observers, but that we are part of these processes and that we are influencing them.**

Despite the fact that the party—I mean the party prior to the extraordinary congress—has suffered a heavy defeat, in my opinion we still have a chance of extricating ourselves from this blind alley.

I understand, and we have already said this many times, that this is not an easy process and for many it will be painful. But it is absolutely essential. Parting from the past does not only mean expelling the party and state's forme, senior representatives from the CPCZ.

If our party is to become attractive again for the citizens, for young, gifted, and competent people, then we cannot permit anything that would limit internal party democracy. We cannot turn the party into a single faith sect which lives only for itself and allows nobody in. This boomeranged against us in the past.

I want to ask you therefore, comrades, to constantly stress the question of mutual tolerance within the party, to explain the necessity of mutual respect, the necessity to admit the right of the other side to its own opinion, as long as this opinion is not in direct contradiction to our own interests.

I am talking about these things mainly because it would be a pity if the party were to be weakened and split just because there are different opinions on this or that minor issue. If we are to succeed, if we are to regain our political influence, then we must achieve unity on fundamental matters.

At the same time, we have a great responsibility. **We are the only real force able to create an element of political equilibrium in Czechoslovakia today. Our duty is to defend the social achievements of the people, to defend their social security, to defend the inviolable sovereignty of our country against the danger of its sellout.**

Our main goal is not political power but a share in political power. For this share we will struggle, as any other normal political party does, as a tool for the implementation of our policy, for the implementation of our ideal of a socially equitable society. At the same time we will proceed democratically, without any attempts at dictatorship.

What Program for Elections

The achievement of all those goals, however, is conditional on the main thing which awaits us—succeeding in the elections. In this connection I want to stress some particularly important aspects. I believe that I have spoken enough, in the main contours, about the shaken confidence of the public in our party and about the dangers which the party may still face.

It follow from this that **first of all, we must be in personal contact with the people, that we must meet and know about one another. If we do not succeed in maintaining personal ties among communists, we will hardly be able to function.** We find ourselves in a totally different situation than we did before. Our success depends now on our mobility and on our ability to listen to the people, to be among them. But not like this: "I have come to tell you what is going on and what you are supposed to think."

On 17 February the party Central Committee approved the draft theses for the election program of the party. It was submitted as **a set of the party's standpoints on the main questions of social development** in Czechoslovakia

in the years to come. In formulating the final wording of the election program, the Central Committee will stress mainly the conclusions from the discussion in the membership base and the standpoint of experts. We consider it proper not to publish the final version of the CPCZ election program prior to the beginning of the election campaign, that is, 40 days before the elections.

Based on the discussion in the membership base, we must take into consideration and **include in the election program the subjects which are, from the public's viewpoint, the most acute now, and which will be acute in the future.** We should not delve unnecessarily deep into the past, nor should we get bogged down in futuristic visions, but we should pinpoint the subjects which are the most topical for an ordinary citizen, what he is most interested in, and what bothers him. We should be giving answers precisely to these specific things—to everyday problems, as I would call them.

We must come to terms with a tremendous amount of work, especially if we consider the attitude of the media toward the party. I repeat: Everything will depend on our canvassing, on our mass-scale organizational and propaganda work.

What would we like to gain in the elections? Self-evidently, we would like to gain influence in the parliament, above all. **The goal is to be able to realistically and constructively influence further decisions about the destiny of this country, about its social, economic and administrative organization.**

I have already said that it is important for us not to walk with our heads in the clouds, that we should not harbour any illusions, and should remain realistic. This will not only save us from possible and needless disappointments, but it will force us, above all, to leave nothing to chance, to proceed purposefully and thoughtfully. Let us proceed from the premise that we will have to fight for every vote in the elections, that we will not get a single vote for free.

Protecting the Interests of People Decently, but Decisively

The conditions under which the party is entering the pre-election period are exceptionally unfavorable. We are exposed to systematic pressure by political opponents and adversaries, and also by a significant part of the public. This anticommunist wave is not characteristic only for Czechoslovakia. An argument often used against us is that in this or that neighboring country the communist parties ceased to exist; they were either dissolved or changed their name. You yourselves know that voices can be heard asking the same thing from us. They want us to leave the stage as a political party; some of them want to outlaw us, to nationalize the property of the party.

It is necessary to reckon with the fact that in the pre-election campaign everything conceivable will be used with gusto, or misused, in the true sense of this word, against the party: February 1948; the fifties; August 1968; the large-scale civic, social, and job persecutions which followed after 1969; and, above all, the misuse of power and functions, and the violent suppressions of public expressions of discontent in the past three years. We will be reproached again for what the party and state functionaries, who lived like untouchable aristocrats, did. Time and again the party will be blamed for having caused all economic, ecological, and social problems which accumulated during its monopoly on power.

I believe, however, that reasonable people will be able to form their own idea about the real state of affairs, or, as the saying goes, common sense should prevail. It is necessary to be able to respond adequately. **Politely, decently. We should differ from our adversaries mainly in this point.**

We must be able to use the fact that the party, in the eyes of many potential voters, can become a significant guarantor of a real pluralism of opinions, a party which is not afraid to point toward efforts at a new totalitarianism and the creation of new power monopolies.

In no case, however, comrades, is it possible to proceed in a confrontational manner in the pre-election campaign. We want to participate honestly in the development of a democratic pluralist society. We will not be like those who, adopting the slogan "the worse the situation becomes, the better for us," applaud every failure made by the government in pursuing reforms in the interest of the country and the people as another triumph in the pre-election campaign. On the contrary, our party will support everything that will contribute to improving the situation in our country. We refuse to raise obstructions and do things out of spite, as some would believe. Our policy will be honest and open, free of intrigues and machinations. This does not mean, of course, that within the framework of the pre-election campaign, we will be silently watching the rights or interests of the people being violated or our party being defiled.

As the situation looks now, the elections to the highest representative bodies should be based on proportional representation, on the basis of a political agreement. Our goal after the elections is a strong and representative parliament enjoying a high level of authority.

We must select as candidates for deputies those people who are competent, qualified, and efficient, and who, if elected, will really represent the party in the highest legislative bodies. This means people of principle, morally clean, able to take the floor at such a forum without preparation, people who are able to gain sympathies and confidence of the voters, and who are able to credibly influence the public and potential opponents.

We consider it necessary to have, as far as possible, young people and women among the candidates. It is important to have on the CPCZ list of candidates people who are without party affiliation but who sympathize with us, or people who were expelled or crossed out from

the register of members during the screening process in 1970 and who are not considering renewing their membership in the CPCZ but who uphold left-wing ideas and positions. Let us therefore choose carefully and prudently, let us choose real personalities.

I would like to emphasize one more thing. The celebrations of May Day and of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia will fall into the preelection campaign. As far as May Day is concerned, we should not forget its celebration. **There are traditions to which we can return. Not the tradition of ostentatious parades and rallies and flowery speeches, but the good traditions of people's merrymaking and entertainment. It would even be appropriate if the party organized them at the local level. However, not as a festival of the communist party but as a meeting of all working people.**

Despite the prophesies of many made before the congress and in the last months and weeks that our party will cease to exist, **the party lives on and works.** This is the most important thing. We have to proceed further, however. The congress of the CPCZ in the Czech Socialist Republic should already demonstrate what we have learned from last November, how able we are to change ourselves and to regain a dignified position in this country. I trust that we can make it.

Mohorita: CPCZ 'Positive' on Free Enterprise

LD0203222990 Prague CTK in English 1821 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 2 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] attitude towards the prepared law on free enterprise is positive. It corresponds with the development of society in Czechoslovakia, Czechoslovak Communist Party First Secretary Vasil Mohorita said at a press conference here today.

He stated that the situation in the Communist Party is still very serious. At present, the party has about one million members (formerly 1.7 million). Its members accept criticism of the party in mass media but they do not agree with distorting facts and with the attitude towards evaluation of the past 42 years which is not earnest enough.

Asked about the number of party members who have to do a different job, Mohorita said that there are thousands of them. Unfortunately, not all of them have found a job often due to the only fact that they still had their party membership card.

Commenting on the work of Federal Assembly deputies—communists, he said that a Communist Party Club of Deputies has been set up which wants to put an end to formalism in its work in the past. Previously out of the Federal Assembly's 350 deputies 250 were communists. Nowadays, the number was reduced to 142. The Club activities focus on real support for constructive changes in Czechslovakia, he concluded.

Television Chief Discusses Upcoming Changes

LD1602211790 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Studio remarks by new television director Jindrich Fairazl; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] Dear television viewers, I discussed what I now consider necessary to talk about with the collective of all television employees for almost three hours—now I have only a few minutes. Nevertheless, I am under the impression that the situation of Czechoslovak television has again evoked considerable public interest.

Apart from the urgency of the problems which have not been solved here for many decades, we are also facing a deluge of false information, forgeries, and so on. [passage omitted]

The economic situation in Czechoslovak television has at the same time culminated dramatically. The commission of the Ministry of Finance, which discussed the economy of the television in the period from 1 January 1986 to 30 June 89—that is, which assessed the time when 10,000 people were employed here, but I was not here—submitted considerable evidence about sloppiness, waste, irresponsibility, and set a fine on Czechoslovak television: 3,100,000 korunas. This fine, however, applies to me. Other forms of this inheritance also concern me, as well as the results of wasted funds at the end of last year and the beginning of this year. On about 10 February I was told that the funds which were to be used by the end of March have simply run out. Other warning signs have appeared: Experts have drawn attention to the possibility that within six months Czechoslovak television will have no funds for the production of programs and it will have no funds for wages either. I had talks about this situation with government officials.

At its session yesterday, the Presidium of the Federal Government has decided, among other things, that a special regime will be declared for the period 1 March - 30 April. The essence of this decision is that, in connection with the current reorganization, in creating the working climate, the numbers of employees will be reduced. The atmosphere of inflexibility and excessive red tape in Czechoslovak television has been for years, with considerable reservations, perceived also our own employees. At the moment, the reduction in the numbers of employees is considered necessary also by representatives of the new trade union organization. In comparison with the world television centers, it has also been demonstrated that, instead of the present 10,000 employees, it would be possible to guarantee the same capacity for programing with half of the people—that is, 5,000 persons. This is a theoretical estimate. The realistic estimate, at the moment, concerns about 1,200 employees in the studios of Prague, Ostrava, and Brno and 800 in the Slovak studios. I am repeating—it is a preliminary estimate. The introduction of the special regime means, above all, that in the coming few months it will be possible to markedly increase efficiency of the activity of

the entire institution inasmuch as this will happen on the basis of a deep analysis of the current situation. It is the task of Czechoslovak television, among other things, to provide exact information to the Federal Government on its new organizational structure by 30 June this year.

The adopted measures of the Presidium of the Federal Government were yesterday and today conveyed by a part of the press and even by the employees of the television newsreel, but they were interpreted in a biased and untrue manner. A considerable share in the resulting inaccuracies is born also by insufficient information on the part of the press spokesman of the Federal Government. Czechoslovak television has lodged a protest regarding the matter.

The measures, adopted by the Presidium of the Federal Government yesterday, will make it possible, within a reasonable period of time, to establish a favorable, efficient working situation in the daily practice of Czechoslovak television. The acutal implementation of these measures will be consistently implemented in close cooperation with the organs and spokesmen of the new trade union organization. Solutions, naturally, will not be safeguarded by the people to whom mistrust has been expressed by labor collectives. [Passage omitted]

Cabinet Supports Polish Border Concerns

LD0203151690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1427 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—During the process of the two German states' unification, the interests of all European states, but especially those of the GDR's and the FRG's immediate neighbors, must be taken into consideration at all costs. Government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer reaffirmed this view of the Modrow cabinet to ADN on 2 March. In this connection, the GDR fully supports the Republic of Poland's concern that the legitimate and special interests of Poland and its people with regard to the guaranteeing of its borders and security must be guaranteed unconditionally. Poland has an inalienable right to be certain that no German nation state will ever threaten the existence of the Polish people and their state.

Hence, the GDR Government favors the two German states, even before their unification, reaffirming in a binding form the finality and inviolability of Poland's existing western border.

Gysi Says NATO Membership 'Absurdity'

LD0303211190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2012 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Gera (ADN)—"I know of no party in German history that has changed so fundamentally within a few weeks as this one." This was stated in reference to the Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS] by its chairman, Gregor Gysi, at an election rally in Gera on 3 March. In the overcrowded great hall of the culture and information center and in front of nearly 1,000 other people listening through loudspeakers outside, the speaker reaffirmed this party's complete break with the more than 40 years of corrupt excesses of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Anyone who wants a truly social and democratic future for the country would be well advised to vote for the PDS. He accused "certain parties and alliances" of withholding an important truth from the people: The "fast way to German unity" with abrupt monetary union and unrestricted adoption of FRG law would plunge the GDR, and with it the majority of its citizens, into an economic catastrophe. This is not cheap propaganda, but is to be taken absolutely seriously. Hence, the PDS is in favor of the gradual and balanced growing together of both German states by means of confederation and a currency union. He thinks the possible existence of a united Germany within NATO is an absurdity. Rather, currently, favorable conditions are coming about for the gradual demilitarization of the GDR and the FRG.

Outlines Reservations

LD0203192390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1824 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS] Chairman Gregor Gysi, at election rallies in Leipzig on 2 March, has spoken out against the early unification of the two German states if modeled on the alternatives advanced by the FRG. "A single Germany cannot simply be nailed together and consist of a renewed GDR and an unchanged FRG," he emphasized.

He warned that the GDR citizens would sink to the level of "Turks" for FRG capital. The planned monetary union would accelerate unemployment in the GDR and entail great social uncertainties. He called on the relevant commissions who are working on these concepts to make their results public before introducing them in practice.

Gregor Gysi affirmed the PDS' proposal for a confederation with a gradual moving together of the two states. He underlined that a united Germany needs a strong leftist force. In this connection, he said that the PDS at present has between 650,000 and 700,000 members. Gregor Gysi emphatically pointed out that in case of unification, there could be only a demilitarized Germany.

While Gysi recieved strong applause from students of Leipzig University, the election rally in the Sachsen Square in the center of the city attended by several hundred people was punctuated by loud heckling from PDS opponents.

FDP on Kohl's 'Damaging' Stance on Poland

LD0403214490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1934 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"The liberals in the GDR regard the unclear stance adopted by Chancellor Kohl on the Polish western border in the process of the unification of the two parts of Germany as damaging. It is precisely the inhabitants of the eastern part of Germany who have great understanding for the Poles, who expect a guarantee for the security of their Western border." This has been stated by GDR Free Democratic Party [FDP] Chairman Bruno Menzel to ADN. Any maneuvering endangers German unity "because it will not come about without a satisfactory answer to Poland's questions. The vacillation of the chancellor with a view to his West German electoral clientele cannot be in the interests of today's GDR inhabitants or European neighbors." The liberals in the GDR therefore expressly support the statement made by [FRG] FDP Chairman Count Lambsdorff, who has called for a clear and unmistakable statement guaranteeing the validity of the Polish border. The liberals in the GDR further call on Chancellor Kohl "not to put off this statement forever and a day, or to rely on a joint statement by the two German parliaments, but to make this statement to the Polish neighbors before the People's Chamber elections."

Hoffmann Outlines Army Concept After Unity

AU0203173590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24-25 Feb 90 p 3

[Interview with Defense Minister Theodor Hoffmann by Rainer Funke; place and date not given: "In the Future, a Federal Army of 300,000 Men?"]

[Text] [Funke] The Defense Ministry has prepared a concept entitled "The Future of the Armed Forces in the Process of the Two German States' Growing Together." Why such a concept?

[Hoffmann] Unification has become a task of practical politics. The development that is taking shape here shows that the German process could go faster than the European process. However, without being embedded in European security structures, and without guarantees that peace will not be threatened by a unified German state, it would only have a slim historical chance.

[Funke] What are the objectives of the ministry's concept?

[Hoffmann] In the course of their economic and political growing together, both German states would have to remain members of their alliances. The military disengagement of the Warsaw Pact and NATO in Central Europe would take place step by step in the framework of pan-European disarmament negotiations.

If both German states and their armed forces meet their political obligations in their alliances, they will also remain politically predictable for Europe when federative institutions are created. For this period, the further presence of Soviet and U.S. troop contingents on the territories of both German states would also lead to favorable framework conditions of stability and security, even if at a certain time they are only of a symbolic nature.

We are striving for solutions that can be fitted into future European security structures. The military issue must be a bridge leading to this goal.

[Funke] But do we still need armed forces on the road to such a security system?

[Hoffmann] We have no doubt about that. Different "changes in temperature" in foreign policy relations between states, crises within and outside of Europe remain potentially possible.

[Funke] What could German-German armed forces be like?

[Hoffmann] A German federal state could have a federal army that would be composed of citizens from all regions and would not exceed the total number of about 300,000 men in peacetime. Less than 200,000 would not allow us to fulfill the training tasks; more than 300,000 would not dispel the concerns of our direct neighbors, despite political statements.

Because the mission, potential, peace, and wartime size of the European states' national forces will most probably be justified and approved within the scope of the institutionalized CSCE process, preparations for setting up a German federal army could be the substance of the work by the respective organs of the two German states on the road to a federation.

Joint Commission on Monetary Union Meets

LD0503112490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1012 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN-Korr)—The joint German-German commission of experts on the preparation of economic and monetary union began its second round of talks today in the Finance Ministry in Bonn. The head of the FRG delegation, State Secretary Dr. Horst Koehler, told ADN at the start of the negotiations that what is involved is difficult but trusting talks. However "progress has been made." He expressed confidence that there would continue to be good progress. The first round of the talks in Berlin has been "very effective and efficient."

The head of the GDR delegation, Minister Dr. Walter Romberg, compared the work of the commission with climbing a difficult mountain for which one has prepared well, but where many external factors are also involved and trust in one's partner is needed. "We are concerned to achieve a good treaty that makes possible monetary and economic community and, above all, handles the questions of the social net as the people in my country expect," the minister said. He strongly condemned the spreading of rumors about details of a monetary union, which do not contribute to a good atmosphere. "We need a good atmosphere, because we still have a good way to go," Dr. Romberg stressed. However, the starting position for the second round of talks in Bonn was generally good.

Bundesbank Vice President Dr. Helmut Schlesinger stressed to ADN that a solution to the problems is getting ever closer. He sharply rejected the assertion that the Bundesbank already has a concept for monetary union.

FRG State Secretary Bernhard Jagoda said: "We are hoping for a good result. The people have earned it."

Bank Says Currency Exchange Details Not Set

LD0303112490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1045 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin/Hamburg (ADN)—According to the GDR's State Bank, details on currency exchange have not yet been laid down. A spokesman for the State Bank announced this in response to an inquiry from ADN in connection with reports in the Hamburg news magazine DER SPIEGEL. The talks between experts from both sides on monetary union and an economic community are still in the initial stages and do not permit any

conclusions about the mode of currency conversion, the spokesman said. [passage omitted]

Credits With Western Banks Decline

AU0203120690 Munich
SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 2 Mar 90
p 33

["lsb" report: "The GDR's Western Credits Melt Away Rapidly"]

[Text] Munich—The GDR's foreign exchange reserves that used to have a considerable volume in the past are melting away rapidly now. This information was received by SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG from well-informed (Western) circles. At the end of September 1989, the Bank for International Settlements (BIS) in Basel put the GDR's foreign currency credits at $9.6 billion. According to semiofficial indications from East Berlin, the credits amounted to "over $7 billion" in January, and according to Western hints they are believed to have dropped below $5 billion. The GDR's net indebtedness in the West has allegedly increased to the same extent. "The problem of indebtedness is becoming increasingly critical in the GDR," reports said. The rapid decline of foreign currency reserves is seen as one of the reasons for the quick establishment of a monetary union between the two German states, probably a few months after the elections. One essential cause for the rapid melting away of the credits with Western banks is the recent decrease in the GDR's production as a result of the wave of emigration and the general chaos that characterizes the country's economy. The GDR's trade balance has dramatically worsened during the past few weeks. In addition, several banks are unwilling to extend credit lines to East Berlin.

Government Defends Nation's Property Rights

LD0203161790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1527 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR property rights as they have developed since World War II should not be called into question, both in the interests of all GDR citizens and also in the interests of the FRG Government. This emerges from a 1 March 1990 GDR Government statement passed to ADN on 2 March. The document refers to the need to preserve the national wealth built up by GDR citizens in over 40 years of work in its essential legal categories. What matters is legal security, which has to be linked to economic and social security.

The government points out that national property has developed on the basis of the August 1945 Potsdam agreement. On this basis, property was placed into public ownership through orders of the Soviet military administration and by laws of the individual lands, which were based in part on referendums. On the basis of the Constitution and the GDR Civil Code, there is a comprehensive right of notice on all rights of ownership, use, and tenancy. The contractual relationship can only be ended against the will of the entitled user by means of a court judgement, the statement goes on. This is the GDR Government's legal position in the negotiations with the FRG on currency and economic union.

Text of Statement

LD0203174490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1637 GMT 2 Mar 90

["Text" of the government's 1 March statement on the rights of property in the country, conveyed to ADN in Berlin on 2 March]

[Text] In connection with the strived-for growing together of the two German states, as well as in particular with the negotiations on the creation of a monetary union and economic community between the GDR and FRG, the GDR Government regards it as necessary to issue the following statement on property rights in the GDR.

It proceeds on the basis that it is in the immediate interests of all GDR citizens, but should be the FRG Government's concern, not to call into question the GDR's property rights as they developed since World War II on the basis of agreements under international law, the laws of the Allied Control Council for Germany, and stipulations by the former Soviet occupation zone, as well as the GDR's laws and regulations.

The aim is to ultimately preserve the national wealth built up by GDR citizens in over 40 years of work in its essential legal categories. What mattered was legal security, which must be linked to economic and social security.

The emergence and development of public property on the present territory of the GDR took place as a result of World War II and is grounded in the Potsdam Agreement of 2 August 1945 with the aim of demilitarization and de-Nazification in Germany and the punishment of war criminals.

The protection of the property, tenants, and users' rights of the GDR citizens concerning plots of land, buildings, and residences deserves the same regard. In accordance with internationally valid legal principles, plots of land and buildings on the territory of a state are subject exclusively to its jurisdiction. That means all GDR citizens who have gained property, usage and tenants' rights on the basis of laws valid in the GDR have a legitimate claim to the continuation and stability of these rights and rely on this.

Comprehensive protection against being given notice exists for all rented accomodation on the basis of the Constitution and the civil legal code of the GDR. It is also valid for the use of plots of land and buildings for recreation and dwelling. The agreement can only be canceled against the will of the legal user by the decision of a normal court if the required legal prerequisites exist.

These rules on protection for tenants of dwellings and the users of areas of land laid down in the civil legal code are part of citizens' elementary social rights. Every new owner and administrator—regardless of the manner of obtaining ownership or administration—must maintain the rights and obligations of tenants in dwellings and the legal users of areas of land. Any citizen can claim legal protection on this through the courts.

The GDR Government sees this legal position as an indispensible component of the negotiations with the Federal Republic of Germany on monetary union and an economic community, as well as on steps toward the amalgamation of the two German states. In the event of legal adjustment in the course of the unification of the two states this, legal situation that has arisen historically must be taken into account.

CDU Chairman Tries To 'Dispel' Economic Fears

AU0203141290 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 23 Feb 90 p 1

[Norbert Schwaldt report: "Prosperity, Good Wages, and Social Protection"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin—The GDR's economy can only be improved by abandoning the methods of central planning, as practiced in the past, and by introducing a social market economy whose principles must be implemented fast and in a convincing manner. This was stated by Christian Democratic Union [CDU] Chairman Lothar de Maiziere at a news conference in Berlin on 22 February, at which Elmar Pieroth presented himself as a potential GDR economics minister in case the Alliance for Germany wins the elections. The chairman of the FRG Association of Medium-Sized Enterprises of the CDU/CSU [Christian Social Union] and deputy chairman of the CDU regional organization was Bundestag deputy from 1969-81 and senator for economy and labor in West Berlin until last year.

CDU Chairman Lothar de Maiziere stressed that experiments and half-hearted steps endanger the stabilization process of the GDR's economy. Considerable insecurity has been caused among the population concerning their social situation in the past few weeks. Fears that the incomes, pensions, and the property of the citizens are endangered are unfounded, the CDU chairman stated. Worries that entrepreneurs might claim possession of the proceeds that have been achieved during 40 years of work in state-owned enterprises are not justified, he stressed. "We consider it necessary to dispel such fears. However, certain forms of ownership by the people must prove themselves in the market so that jobs are ensured," Lothar de Maiziere pointed out.

Resolute action is required now, and, above all, the medium-sized enterprises must be strengthened. Elmar Pieroth would advocate these goals as a future GDR economics minister. "We are grateful for such readiness, even if it contains a certain risk.," the CDU chairman stressed.

To ensure prosperity, well-paid work, and social protection must be the primary task, Elmar Pieroth emphasized. This includes the quick establishment of at least half a million of medium-sized enterprises, he pointed out. [passage omitted]

CDU Executive Committee Nominates Candidates

AU0503100090 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 26 Feb 90 p 1

[Report by Matthias Schlegel and Carola Schuetze: "Top Candidate De Maiziere: Unity as Quickly as Possible, as Good as Necessary"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin—Practically at the last gong, calling on parties and movements to submit their candidates for the People's Chamber elections on 18 March (the last day is 26 February), the Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU] faced this task. on 25 February, at the third session of the Executive Committee, the CDU candidates and their order were set down. Top candidate is Lothar de Maiziere. Women, young members, and Sorbs received front positions.

Previously, Chairman Lothar de Maiziere had presented a report on the situation in which—in view of the escalation of the situation in our country, in particular concerning the supply situation; of the local councils, which are only partly capable of action; and of the fears and insecurity of the citizens, which are irresponsibly fanned by some forces in the election campaign—he pleaded for the establishment of German unity: "As quickly as possible and as good as necessary."

The formation of CDU land associations is positively accepted by the members, Lothar de Maiziere noted. After the land associations of Thuringia, Berlin, and Saxony-Anhalt on 3-4 March, this development will be concluded with the laender of Mecklenburg-Hither Pomerania, Brandenburg, and Saxony.

The general situation in the country "has escalated" and in some parts the local councils are "only partly capable of action," the CDU chairman said. In this situation, one has to thank those CDU members who have accepted responsibility during the transition period and are often accused of what others did before them. The supply situation has also worsened in particular after that "irresponsible motion by New Forum at the roundtable" for the reduction of subsidies for foodstuffs and compensation payment. This has caused hoarding, which amounted to four to five times the purchases in normal times. All in all, the roundtable has achieved an importance that no longer corresponds to its reputation among the people. De Maiziere assumes that after 18 March the fate of the country will be in the hands of a legitimate, fully responsible People's Chamber and no longer in those of the roundtable.

Referring to the FRG Government's promise for a monetary union as well as an economic and social union

after 18 March, De Maiziere noted that at present there is not yet the necessary legal framework for private investors.

In the election campaign, it is becoming clear that two essential forces have developed that oppose each other: The Social Democratic Party [SPD] and the Alliance for Germany. He did not want to discuss repeated calculations concerning their chances at the elections because of the polls' questionable criteria.

Discussing the partly rough election campaign tactics of the SPD, Lothar de Maiziere said: "We want to prove that we are capable of democracy. We provide the better prospects, but, at the same time, we will defend ourselves against measures that are aimed below the belt." Defamations, such as the senseless claim that the Alliance wants a Germany within the borders of 1937—fliers to this effect are circulating in Thuringia—contradict the recently concluded "fairness" agreement of the parties. Such accusations were clearly refuted as early as December.

It is an unpleasant characteristic of the election campaign that it programs are not in the foreground but rather that fears and insecurities are nurtured. "The first answer that has to be given must be: What the people fear is not the result of a future but of a past state." The oft-quoted, so-called social securities are not worth more than the paper on which they are set down because their financing is no longer assured. Therefore, it is important that the establishment of German unity be: "As quickly as possible, as good as necessary." [passage omitted]

CDU Organization Forms in Saxony-Anhalt

AU0503090990 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 26 Feb 90 pp 1-2

[Allmuth Schaarschmidt report: "With a Solid Program"]

[Excerpts] Halle-Neustadt—"No matter how important it is to deal with the past and to come to terms with it, it must not be overlooked that we are in the middle of an election campaign, that it is important for us, the Christian Democratic Union [CDU], to demonstrate with clear statements that we are the party that opens up prospects for everybody." Sterile new buildings unfit for human beings, a destroyed environment, and decaying industrial plants—this is the balance sheet of 40 years of socialist experiments. There must be an end to this. "The CDU must develop solid programs on the basis of which a country can be governed." With these words, Gerd Gies from Stendal District assumed the position of chairman of the Saxony-Anhalt CDU organization.

The country has been split up into areas for over 40 years. Now there is a real chance that things that belong together will grow together, he pointed out. Over 300 delegates gathered at the "Prisma" cinema on 24 February to form the Saxony-Anhalt organization. [passage omitted]

At the beginning of the meeting, CDU Chairman Lothar de Maiziere gave a speech that was frequently interrupted by applause. He described 24 February as one of the most important days in the history of the party that is linked with renewal and new orientation. Structures that existed in the past—the laender, which were a home to the people in the German fatherland and which should again become a home to them—will be restored. Referring to the current election campaign, he stated that it is difficult for the citizens to make a choice because the parties' statements are so similar. For this reason, the CDU must present arguments that convince people, that open up a clear future, both for the successful and the socially weak. This requires an efficient and competitive economy that we can only achieve with the help of our partners in the FRG.

The party chairman stressed that social fears are often intentionally fanned by those who are against a united Germany. "The CDU will ensure that a social and ecologically oriented market economy will be introduced cautiously, in consideration of the social responsibility." At the end of the German unification process, every citizen of today's GDR must be able to say: Unity has let to essential improvements for me. [passage omitted]

FRG Defense Minister Addresses Rally

LD0303225190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1924 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—After election appearances in Wismar and Bad Doberan in the course of the day, FRG Defence Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg addressed a rally in Rostock on Saturday evening. Speaking to the delegates of the Christian Democratic Union Mecklenburg/Western Pomerania, as well as hundreds of other citizens of Rostock, he reaffirmed the readiness of the FRG to work with any democratically legitimized government after the elections. But the most can be done for the GDR citizens if there were harmony between the government in convictions and aims. Therefore, he appealed to the still undecided voters in the country to give their votes to the Alliance for Germany. Strengthening this alliance is important because of the political platform that the alliance represents. Stoltenberg referred to the possibility of the laender in the GDR immediately taking up negotiations on entry into the FRG under Article 23 of the Basic Law. The new laender in the GDR, in which something that has developed through history is arising again, would help noticeably to increase the variety and richness of Germany. A united Germany must remain anchored within the political community of the West. We are part of Western democracy, but we also want to make a contribution to enabling East-West relations to be durably improved, the FRG minister said.

Opinion Poll Shows Loss of Support for SPD

LD0203213690 Hamburg DPA in German 1646 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—Three weeks before the first free People's Chamber elections in the GDR, 84 percent of those entitled to vote are firmly resolved to make use of their right to vote. This was the result of an opinion poll by the Infas opinion research institute for the ARD program "Report from Bonn." Three percent intend to abstain in any event. Fifty-two percent of those asked (nine percent more than in the previous week) did not know for whom they would vote.

Of those already firmly committed to a party, 24 percent were for the Social Democratic Party [SPD], which in previous weeks had received well over 30 percent. On the other hand, the parties in the conservative Alliance for Germany with the Christian Democratic Union [CDU], the German Social Union, and Democratic Departure made significant gains. Together they gained 12 percent as opposed to seven percent earlier. The successor party to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS], dropped from six to five percent, the Liberals are steady at three percent.

People were also asked in which politician GDR citizens had the most confidence with regard to their country's future. Among the GDR politicians, Prime Minister Hans Modrow was well in the lead with 87 percent, far above former Dresden Mayor Wolfgang Berghofer, who left the former SED (46 percent). The eastern SPD Chairman Ibrahim Boehme received 33 percent and PDS leader Gregor Gysi 25 percent. Sixteen percent were in favor of CDU Chairman Lothar de Maiziere, and 15 percent for the Liberal Chairman Manfred Gerlach.

Among West German politicians, Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher [Free Democratic Party] leads with 68 percent, ahead of Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker (66 percent). Berlin Governing Mayor Walter Momper (SPD) gained 62 percent, and SPD Honorary Chairman Willy Brandt 61 percent. The SPD candidate designate for chancellor, Oskar Lafontaine, gained 50 percent and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl 41 percent.

Boehme Notes Conditions for Monetary Union

LD0303220290 East Berlin Deutschlandsender Network in German 1800 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] GDR Socialist Democratic Party Chairman Ibrahim Boehme regards a monetary union of the two German states by 1 July as possible. However, speaking in Potsdam today at a conference held by his party on economic policy, he named incisive reforms on prices, property, banking, and competition as the precondition. In addition, there must be a social security union with common unemployment, pension, and social insurance.

Brandt Starts 4-Day Visit in Erfurt

LD0303173490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1254 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Erfurt (ADN)—Willy Brandt, of the Social Democratic Party honorary chairman, this morning started a four-day visit to Erfurt. The first steps led him—warmly received by citizens of Erfurt—along the same route from the main station to the "Erfurter Hof" Interhotel as 20 years ago. On 19 March 1970 as federal chancellor, he met the then-GDR Premier Willi Stoph for the first intra-German summit. Brandt was given a tumultuous reception then.

He addressed the people from the balcony of the "Erfurter Hof" hotel. On his previous visit, he had not been able to speak in order not to endanger the Erfurters. It is a completely different situation today, much has changed for the better, but there is much to do.

This afternoon there will be a large rally on the Cathedral Square.

Other stops on his tour are Weimar, Gera, Dresden, and Karl-Marx-Stadt.

Addresses Erfurt Rally

LD0303215390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1826 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Erfurt (ADN)—Tens of thousands of local people today welcomed Willy Brandt with tumultuous applause and cheers as the main speaker at an Social Democratic Party [SPD] rally on the Cathedral Square in Erfurt. Brandt recalled the Erfurt GDR-FRG summit of 1970 and described the talks at that time as unproductive but necessary. The Ostpolitik of that time has been based on the insight that Germany—and then also Europe—would only grow together if the dangerous East-West tensions were reduced and if the Soviet Union also agreed to this. Referring to the German-Polish border, he expressed doubt whether the art of statesmanship could consist in allowing doubt to arise about the current border. "Such unclarity benefits German unity as little as it does resolute European cooperation directed toward the future, which gradually rids the borders of their divisive nature." He said: "Whoever wishes to serve unity must not sow new discord. Above all, we must not forget what the people in the GDR have created during the past years—and what particular experiences they have made. What lies ahead of us will be difficult. Measured against what lies behind us, however, it will not be all that hard. Together we will manage it."

GDR SPD Chairman Ibrahim Boehme had stressed the preservation of social achievements as a fundamental election concern of his party. [passage omitted]

Criticizes Kohl on Poland

LD0303215890 Hamburg DPA in German 2046 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Erfurt (DPA)—Socialist Democratic Party [SPD] Honorary Chairman Willy Brandt this evening criticized as "nonsensical and no sign of very high statesmanship" the attempts by Chancellor Helmut Kohl to establish a connection between the recognition of the Polish western border and renunication of reparations. This means in practice that the value of the lost areas would have to be established, Brandt told journalists in Erfurt. Brandt said the lack of clarity by the federal government on the western border also contributes toward the increasing insecurity of the people in the GDR.

Speaking to journalists, GDR SPD Chairman Ibrahim Boehme described Kohl's proposal as a "tasteless and an unambiguous affront" against the background of the inter-German negotiations.

Addresses Gera Rally

LD0403190190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1810 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Gera (ADN)—There are grounds for confidence—it is worthwhile to stay in the GDR. Socialist Democratic Party [SPD] Honorary Chairman Willy Brandt said this today at a rally in Gera center. He described as unfounded the claims that the aid to be given by the FRG is linked to the political good behavior of party compatriots in the GDR. The present Federal Government will have to come to an arrangement even with a Social Democratic prime minister of this country, if this should be the voters' choice, he said.

He advocated speed after 18 March in taking the steps necessary for German unity in the areas of economy, currency and social order. The Social Democrats, both in the western and in the eastern part of Germany, feel that if possible no one should suffer on the route to German unity, neither pensioners, savers, nor those seeking work. [passage omitted]

Modrow Discusses People's Chamber Candidacy

AU0403181890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Feb 90 p 2

[Statement by Prime Minister Hans Modrow at the Party of Democratic Socialism Congress in East Berlin on 24 February on his candidacy for the People's Chamber: "Yes—in Order Not To Disappoint the Expectations of Hundreds of Thousands"]

[Text] I beg you to show understanding that I am not going to speak about the program, as has been expected here, but have to say a few personal words.

The party executive board and many other comrades have called upon me or expressed the expectation that I should run as candidate for the People's Chamber. I ask you to understand, and I also asked the Presidium to understand that many things had to be considered regarding this decision, and it has not been easy for me to make this decision. There are, above all, three reasons for this:

First, if the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] wants to renew itself and even wants to become a new party, it must consistently break with the past. Without such a break, the PDS will not be credible. Quite a few things have been done in recent weeks for this credibility. I think that the party congress reflects this process convincingly and clearly. With the elections, it will certainly develop constructively in a consistent way.

As for the past—I must state this here frankly and honestly: I had been a Central Committee member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] since 1958. I worked as a first secretary of the Dresden area leadership for about one-and-a-half decades. For all that I tried to do for a policy of change in 1989 and possibly earlier—I know perfectly well now that it was not enough. I have to live with it, and I will not burden the PDS, and I will also find my political home in this party in a new way.

The party has now called upon me to run as a candidate for a seat in a new, democratically elected People's Chamber. Young comrades approached me on 23 February with a list of thousands of signatures, and in addition, I received hundreds of letters and telegrams.

When I ask them whether the party does not have new, young members who are not burdened by the past, and whether it has to put its stakes on a man once again who in a difficult hour has offered his services to our country, and by no means to the former SED—their answer is: Yes, the young generation is growing up; however, we do not want to renounce a man of your generation!

I ask you to consider that my work as prime minister, in a position that is independent on any party, has also helped the party, namely, in its effort to renew itself, to develop the PDS into a new party that can be trusted in the coming elections. Permit me at this point to approach the GDR citizens with this thought, and to ask them to trust the PDS ticket.

Here is the second reason for many of my considerations. At the special party congress and in particular in my government statement, I did not leave the slightest doubt about the fact that as a prime minister I cannot be committed to a party but only to the people. That was the only way to keep the government functioning, first with five and then with 13 coalition parties. It was only with this political creed that I was accepted by the roundtable, and because I have not pursued party politics during my time in office, many citizens in the GDR and perhaps even some citizens in the FRG have accepted me as the GDR prime minister.

I will not act contrary to this basic political creed prior to the elections. Modrow is not a turncoat who first says

that he is not committed to any party, and then, several weeks prior to the elections, changes his mind to work for the PDS.

Dear comrades! I ask you to fully understand that I view myself as holding suprapartisan responsibility, and should somebody tell me that our party comes first, and our country second, I would say that it is exactly the other way around!

Our country has gotten into such a bad situation precisely because in the past a party considered itself more important than anything else. With its platform and its election concept, the PDS has abandoned this position and will work as one party among others; however, in its political work and in its members' activities, it will also act with special resolve.

I am determined to conclude my office as prime minister in a way guaranteeing that the necessary common sense and prudence in the country are maintained. Why do you think the representatives of all media outside the GDR keep asking me about my candidacy for the People's Chamber? The answer is probably that they want to know whether Modrow acts out of partisan interest, and whether he continues to see himself in a government of national responsibility. I said publicly, and I reiterate here in all determination, that I continue to stand by this responsibility, but now I must also ask many citizens to have confidence. Many parties of the roundtable have ministers with or without portfolio who run as candidates for the People's Chamber, and I, too, have been asked by my party to do so. I expect those of the PDS who decide to run as candidates for their party to be shown the respective tolerance as well.

Third—and I want to restate this publicly as part of my considerations: Those who are supposed to run for the PDS in the People's Chamber elections, should not have sat there for more than three decades. That is the only way allowing the new PDS deputies—and I really mean the new ones—to really pursue new party politics. I added that whatever I can do to help bring about democratic renewal in general and our party's democratic renewal in particular, I will and intend to do. Now, however, until election day and subsequently, until handing over my official functions to a new chief of government, I want to contribute my share to help stabilize the state to the largest possible extent, for cooperation and the country's cohesion. Nobody can take away my obligation to carry out my office in an honest way to the last day.

On the basis of its platform and its election concept, the PDS will work, through new forces in parliament, for renewal in the country and for the two German states' growing together in the framework of the European process and in the scope of their coexistence in a peaceful European home.

Young comrades in particular, who are running as candidates in the elections, told me that my considerations regarding young deputies require my cooperation in the party.

Finally, Gregor [Gysi] and the comrades of the Presidium had a long discussion with me on 23 February. Much was considered, and many different views remain.

I wanted to ask you to show understanding for a comrade who has not betrayed his party and will not betray it, a comrade who has assumed responsibility, but who—perhaps for physical reasons—does not want to enter into the next race while beforehand he is still on his way to meeting greater responsibility.

Now you ask me to understand the expectation expressed by many citizens in election talks, who tell me by many thousands that you expect me to run as a candidate. In order not to disappoint hundreds of thousands who have decided to shape a new democratic left in our country, I probably have only one alternative—to accept this candidacy.

PDS Criticizes Military Service Draft Law

AU0503093990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Feb 90 p 2

[ND report: "Not Just 'Step Aside'"]

[Text] Berlin—By disbanding the party organizations and the leading party organs, and due to the resultant separation of the Army and the party, the members of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] have discontinued party political work in offices, says the PDS in a statement on 26 February. It adds that the citizens in uniform must have all the rights that are enjoyed by all the GDR citizens, however.

Nobody has the right to deny Army members membership in a party and party political work outside offices. We resolutely reject the practices of superiors who use the military service draft law (Section 17) to force PDS members verbally and in writing to resign from their party. We consider this section in the present draft law undemocratic. The military service law cannot prohibit what the Constitution and the Law on Parties permits.

PDS Land Executive Forms in Schwerin

LD0303195790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1707 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Schwerin (ADN)—The Party of Democratic Socialism [DPS] Land Executive of Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania constituted itself in Schwerin on Saturday. The elected representatives of the three northern areas of the GDR entrusted the leadership to Neubrandenburg Area Executive Chairman Juergen Zelm. The most important task of the Presidium will be working out the land policy of the PDS and preparing for the first regular land party congress.

Gysi Addresses Election Rally

LD0403191690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1840 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"There need be no unemployment if the work is shared between all, Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS] Chairman Gregor Gysi emphasized at an election rally in Birkenwerder near Berlin this evening. It is important to remind the state of its duty to continue to provide constitutional guarantees in the future for all work, through job creation programs, retraining concepts and social safeguards. A market economy must, in the interests of social security, raise the efficiency of productivity and build on the dominance of the national property. Gysi called for the fusion of the new ordering of price and subsidies policy with a network of socially just compensation payments. Pensioners, students and apprentices in particular must be taken into consideration. Addressing the Social Democratic Party [SDP], he recommended a strong line, because only in this way will SPD policy be reminded to be truly social democratic and avoid the danger of straying to the right. Facing a hall in Birkenwerder, hopelessly overflowing with 2,000 people, Gysi said: "There are, after all, more of us than people think."

FDGB, DGB Form Regional Committee

AU0203142590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Feb 90 p 3

[ADN report: "Together on 1 May"]

[Text] Berlin/Berlin (West) (ADN)—On 26 February, the heads of the area offices of the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation], of Berlin, Peter Strassenberger; of Frankfurt (Oder), Guenter Kallweit; and of Potsdam, Dieter Steffen; and Michael Pagels, chairman of the DGB [German Trade Union Federation] land district of Berlin (West) signed an agreement on the founding of a regional trade union committee. In the West Berlin DGB building, they discussed the goals and contents of this agreement at a news conference.

Peter Strassenberger called the agreement up to date, because the trade unions must not stay behind in the fast process of a future united Germany, which harbors the danger of social cuts for working people. Thus, as a temporary institution, the committee is to make a specific contribution to improve the life of the people who live and work in the region.

The joint projects include the joint celebration of the day of the working people on 1 May in both parts of Berlin. Ways to prevent moonlighting and commuting as well as currency speculations between West and East are being discussed.

CSU's Waigel, Huber Speak at Rallies

AU0203153990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Feb 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Waigel Interferes in Election Campaign"]

[Text] Berlin (West)—FRG Finance Minister Theo Waigel, chairman of the Christian Social Union [CSU], intends to speak at election rallies of the German Social Union [DSU] in several GDR cities as of 10 March. This was announced by representatives of the two parties at a news conference in West Berlin on 27 February.

During the news conference, they complained about "the massive obstruction" of the DSU election campaign, which is being isolated as a conservative party in the GDR, they said. In addition, the new election law has not been published and is therefore not accessible to the DSU, said DSU Secretary General Peter-Michael Diestel. He rejected doubts expressed by journalists who said that the election law was published in the Legal Gazette. Diestel holds "controlled groups" from the FRG and West Berlin, including also from the "Kreuzberg scene," responsible for disturbing an election meeting in Potsdam the day before [26 February], when CSU Secretary General Huber was booed by participants in the rally and was asked to leave the GDR.

At the news conference, Huber stressed the "special partnership" between the CSU and the DSU, which should develop into lasting cooperation. He admitted that in view of the revolutionary changes, feelings of uncertainty and fear had emerged among the people in the GDR, and he claimed that these feelings were being fanned by a campaign launched by the left.

At the news conference, the DSU presented its new socio-political program. It calls for "establishing free markets and free prices, the predominance of private ownership in the means of production, freedom of trade, and legal protection." For the resultant "problems of adjustment," such as the release of the labor force and ensuring the purchasing power of old-age pensions, transition solutions will have to be found together with the FRG.

Calls For a Single Germany

West German politicians interfered in the election campaign of GDR parties at some of the traditional Monday demonstrations. At the Potsdam St. Nicholas Church, Social Democratic Party [SPD] politicians Herbert Schnoor, interior minister of North-Rhine Westphalia, and Dietrich Stobbe, former governing mayor of Berlin (West), took the floor. Eberhard Diepgen, chairman of the West Berlin Christian Democratic Union [CDU], spoke at a CDU meeting in Brandenburg at the same time. Without substantial differences in their programmatic statements, the top candidates of the SPD and CDU called for a single Germany on the basis of monetary and economic union and social security.

An Alliance for Germany election rally in Karl-Marx-Stadt was held under the slogan "freedom instead of socialism."

FRG Officials Attend DSU Rallies

AU0403211990 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 24-25 Feb 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Prominent FRG Politicians Attend Rallies of the German Social Union"]

[Text] Leipzig—It is important to create the best possible working conditions in the GDR so that people stay in their country, FRG Research and Technology Minister Heinz Riesenhuber (Christian Social Union) stressed at an election rally of the German Social Union [DSU] in Leipzig. He stated that currently there are about 60 projects involving cooperation between scientific institutions from the two German states. The minister for regional planning, housing, and urban development, Gerda Hasselfeldt (Christian Social Union), stated at another rally that expert commissions of the two countries are currently discussing concepts for the repair of buildings in various GDR towns.

Greens, Democracy Now Nominate Candidates

AU0403211790 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 24-25 Feb 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Candidates Nominated for People's Chamber Elections"]

[Text] East Berlin—Various parties and groups presented their programs and candidates for the elections to the People's Chamber at a news conference on 23 February.

Green Party and Independent Women's Association

United in a joint election platform, the alliance advocates the dissolution of the military blocs and the gradual demilitarization of the two German states. The right to work must be preserved. The alliance also calls for the promotion of research concerning the ecological restructuring of the industrial society. Dr. Ina Merkel and actress Walfriede Schmitt were nominated as candidates for the Independent Women's Association, and Vera Wollenberger and Vollrad Kuhn for the Green Party.

Democracy Now

The citizens' movement will suggest that Alliance 90 nominate Dr. Wolfgang Ullmann as candidate for the position of prime minister, said Democracy Now spokesman Konrad Weiss. However, the nomination requires the support of the New Forum and the Peace and Human Rights Initiative. Other candidates of the election alliance are Marianne Birthler (Peace and Human Rights Initiative), Jens Reich (New Forum), and Konrad Weiss (Democracy Now).

Political Broadcast by Alliance-'90 Party

LD0203102290

[Editorial Report] East Berlin Television Service in German at 1850 GMT on 1 March carries a 15-minute party political broadcast on behalf of the Alliance-'90 party.

The presenter introduces Alliance-'90 representatives for discussion on trade unions and workers' rights, Wolfgang Templin from Peace and Human Rights Initiative, Ludwig Maracek from Democracy Now, and (Juergen Roloff) from New Forum.

The presenter asks what can be done for the workers when factory management tries to gain foreign investment and they begin to wonder whether they will have a future in their place of work. What can the citizens' movements do in such a situation? Templin says that radical democratization from below is the answer. People must ask themselves how social interests in the factory can best be defended. (Roloff) says newly elected union representatives should be supported so that the people who brought the revolution about are not its first victims. Maracek says that if works councils are democratically elected, then the management will have to recognize them as a representative of the workers. This is particularly true in factories where the unions do not enjoy the employees' confidence. (Roloff) says that New Forum has set up contacts with unions in the West so that they can offer advice on coping with the market economy.

(Roloff) says the role of individual trade unions must be strengthened. They have to adapt to the new circumstances and be active. Templin says that workers' and trade union rights should be anchored in a new constitution and a trade union law in the GDR. These principles should be brought into a pan-German constitution. (Roloff) agrees and says that a law on factory constitutions must also be worked out in order to give workers the best possible chances when reunification comes. Maracek says the citizens' movements must see to it that democratic and sensible decisions are made as part of developing economic democracy, otherwise some enterprises could be destroyed. Templin says there will be conflicts between management and workers and that managers will not be in the unions so it may not be easy to reach a consensus. The workers' should have a positive right to have a say in the future of the enterprise. Maracek says that people must have the right information and know what they are talking about before approaching management so that the workers can reach the best decision. Templin says that they must see to it that decisions are made openly. The presenter asks them what kind of representation of citizens' interests they are aiming for at places of work. Templin says they are aiming to give people legal aid and advice to help people fight for their rights. Maracek says they want citizens to be active in defending their rights.

FDP's Mischnick Addresses Leipzig Rally

LD0203214690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1943 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Leipzig (ADN)—Wolfgang Mischnick, chairman of the Free Democratic Party Bundestag group, one of the main speakers at a rally of the League of Free Democrats in Leipzig today, stated that GDR citizens should ensure on 18 March that no party should again receive an absolute majority.

An economic, monetary, and social union should be set up as soon as possible with a 1:1 Deutsche mark ratio regarding the GDR citizens' saving accounts. The influx of capital to the GDR would not result in a sellout of the country, as some "panic-mongers" claim, but would result in the opposite. Mischnick did not, however, rule out unemployment benefits, although it could not be permanent. [as received] He spoke in support of a unification of the two German states proceeding without territorial claims and "embedded in the European process." [passage omitted]

FDP's Lambsdorff at Election Rally in Cottbus

LD0403202590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1921 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] Cottbus (ADN)—The Federal Government is ready to give all help to the GDR, but it must be possible for this help to be effective. This was said by Free Democratic Party [FDP] Chairman Count Lambsdorff in Cottbus this evening, where he was addressing thousands of participants in an election rally held by the League of Free Democrats. If the train is to travel in the direction of prosperity in the GDR, then the points must be set radically in the direction of the social market economy.

There must not be, and there will not be, a devaluation of savings deposits in the GDR, the speaker stressed. This cannot be expected of the citizens of the GDR 45 years after the end of the war. "They have worked just as industriously as we and have saved just as we have," he said. However, when the deutsche mark is introduced, it will not be possible to avoid an initial restriction on the disposal of credit balances.

Genscher Addresses Rostock Election Rally

LD0303150790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1418 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher today promised a "German miracle of construction" [deutsches afbauwunder] after the unification of the two German states. He was addressing 2,000 Rostockers at a League of Free Democrats election rally in University Square. He described the necessary path to this as being via replacing actually existing socialism with the actually functioning social market economy. On the basis of this, what the whole world describes as the German economic miracle has come about. The Eastern part of Germany could be sure of the EC's help in this.

The foreign minister countered states' fears of a 76 million- strong united nation: "We Germans want nothing other than to live in freedom, democracy, unity, and peace with our neighbors. We do not want to rule Europe, our need for power politics has been satisfied once and for all." He understands Germany as being the unification of the FRG with the GDR and both parts of Berlin. The politician thanked GDR citizens for their courage and for a peaceful revolution that has inseparably linked the name of the German people with the concepts of human rights, freedom, and democracy. "Let us Germans now also become the motor for the disarmament that is urgently required in Europe and the master builders of the European home," he said.

Genscher later travelled to Schwerin, where he will speak at an election rally this evening.

DA Notes Daily 'Intimidation'

LD0403200890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1834 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—An office of Democratic Awakening (DA) was vandalized last night, DA told ADN today. Unknown perpetrators hurled a brick through the window of the DA office in Berlin's Marienburger Street. The brick had been wrapped in a cloth soaked in butyric acid. The perpetrators had poured huge quantities of it into the hall of the building. The letter box and parts of the furnishings were destroyed. Democratic Awakening has instituted legal proceedings against persons unknown.

"The top DA candidates receive death threats almost every day. Telephone intimidation is constantly increasing. There are reports from all areas and districts of the systematic papering over and removal of posters of the Alliance for Germany and Democratic Awakening. Access to important mass media is being made increasingly difficult for DA," the press communication also claims.

Republican Sympathizers Disrupt Rally

LD0203132590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1053 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—Republican sympathizers, who are banned in the GDR, are alleged to have shouted neo-Nazi, racist, and xenophobic slogans and to have distributed leaflets on 1 March between 1700 and 1900, the United Left told ADN. During an Alliance for Germany election rally with FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl [in Karl-Marx-Stadt] some of them sealed off a vehicle of the German Social Union [DSU] and headed off a large group of demonstrators who were carrying GDR flags and placards. According to the United Left, there were isolated incidents in which the Republican

sympathizers used violence against demonstrators, with DSU stewards giving support with truncheons.

After the end of the election rally, the statement goes on, a group of citizens with GDR flags was violently attacked and pursued. Shouts of "foreigners out" and "Deutschland, Deutschland uber alles" were heard. The radicals raised their arms in fascist-style salutes. [passage omitted]

The Interior Ministry confirmed to ADN during the night in response to an inquiry, that there had been a counterdemonstration to the Alliance rally in Karl-Marx-Stadt. The Karl-Marx-Stadt Area police authorities said during the night that they had no information concerning incidents such as the disturbances mentioned.

FRG's Stoltenberg Discusses Entry Into FRG

LD0403172190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1627 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] Schwerin (ADN)—At an election rally of the Alliance for Germany in Crivitz (Schwerin Area) today, Federal Defense Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg called for a well-considered, voluntary entry of the GDR in the FRG via Article 23 of the FRG Basic Law. To applause from the 500 or so participants in the market square, he said that after more than four decades, people throughout the world had grasped the fact that communism and Marxism-Leninism ran counter to freedom and human rights, and that they had led not to progress but to economic and social decline. The communist era must, therefore, finally be brought to a close.

He advocated a policy of consistent implementation of a social market economy and of swift moves toward an economic and currency union. "Development, progress, modernization, the expansion of existing and creation of new enterprises—all those things that are in our vital interests, can come about only if the private sector of your economy, too, is encouraged and expanded, and if the door is pushed open for cooperation with our Western enterprises and for capital investments from our Western economy," Stoltenberg said. As far as the introduction of the deutsche mark in the GDR is concerned, it is conceivable that, for savers in particular, a comparatively favorable settlement will be found.

Voting Districts Planned for Citizens Abroad

AU0203152190 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 28 Feb 90 p 2

[ADN report: "55 Voting Districts for GDR Citizens Working Abroad"]

[Text] East Berlin—The electoral commission in Berlin is currently creating the technical preconditions to make it possible for GDR citizens who are working abroad on the GDR's behalf to participate in the 18 March elections. In this connection, the commission has adopted the creation of 55 voting districts outside the GDR. The persons entitled to vote must apply for ballot papers in the voting districts where they work. The ballot papers are then produced in the GDR and sent to the 55 voting districts. Votes can only be cast by GDR citizens who work on the GDR's behalf in these countries.

15th Session of Roundtable Opens

LD0503083890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0808 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The topic of a social charter for the future forms the main point of the central roundtable's 15th session, which began its work in Berlin today. The aim is for this to form the basis for a social union as part of economic and monetary ties between the two German states.

Other points on the agenda of the penultimate session of the roundtable prior to the People's Chamber elections are the question of the equality of men and women, and education and youth questions. The participants in the roundtable will also be discussing the draft for a law on judges, the question of granting permission to practice to lawyers, and the powers of the courts.

In response to an inquiry from ADN, moderator Karl-Heinz Ducke denied FRG radio reports that a briefing is also due on the state of investigations into the Schalck-Golodkowski case.

Increasing 'Xenophobia' in Leipzig Noted

AU0503081390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Feb 90 p 1

[ADN report: "Foreigners No Longer Secure?"]

[Text] Berlin—"We are dismayed and outraged with regard to the increasing number of attacks on foreign citizens in Leipzig. Foreign citizens are not even secure in their lodging houses." This has been stated by the coordinating committee of the Association of Friends of Latin America in the GDR. The People's Police is apparently doing little or nothing to stop this violence, they say. We call upon the police to do its duty.

The Polish youth paper SZTANDAR MLODYCH also voices dismay at "xenophobia in Leipzig that is increasing every week." The paper notes that the center of Leipzig is "practically closed" to foreigners during the Monday demonstrations. "If Negroes, Vietnamese, or members of other nationalities turn up, they are abused, harassed, or beaten."

'Several Thousand' Demonstrate in Plauen

LD0303203990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2000 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Plauen (ADN)—Several thousand residents of Plauen (Karl-Marx-Stadt Area) and of surrounding cities and villages came together for the 20th demonstration through the city center. They were joined by guests from

Bavaria. Before the march started, Superintendent [of the Evangelical Church] Kuettler said that Plauen has gained the reputation of being very keen on demonstrations over the last few months. In spite of this, signs of exhaustion are becoming noticeable, but the citizens of Plauen decided to continue their demonstrations up to the elections on 18 March. At the concluding rally in front of the town hall, the Plauen Group of 20 said that they were not in agreement with the decisions of the roundtable in Berlin. This body has no basis in this area.

Thuringian Farmers Demand Land Reform

LD0203224690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1835 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Erfurt (ADN)—Thuringian farmers have demanded the immediate submission of a law on the protection of land belonging to farmers and of cooperative property. They also want the immediate provision of spares for agricultural machinery. Addressing a rally of hundreds of farmers gathered in Domplatz, Erfurt, today with tractors, loaders and mobile cranes, Democratic Peasant Party Deputy Chairman Ulrich Junghans assured that his party would uncompromisingly put forward the successes of land reform. [passage omitted]

Public Servants Association Founded

AU0503092590 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 26 Feb 90 p 1

[NZ/ADN report: "GDR Public Servants Association Founded"]

[Text] East Berlin—On 24 February, the GDR Public Servants Association was founded in Berlin's Congress Hall, even though the GDR does not yet have a chartered professional public service system. Thus, a tradition that was suspended in 1933 was revitalized in this part of Germany. The independent interest group's 400 delegates confirmed a managing committee as the leading body. The professional association regards itself as an umbrella organization for those who will become public servants once the necessary law is adopted, but it also wants to represent the interests of the workers and employees in the state and public service. What will be important is social security in professional life and in retirement, as well as possibilities to obtain higher qualifications and further education. Like in the FRG Public Service Law, it also includes an "irremovability clause." All members should be liable exclusively to the Constitution and act in line with the citizens' needs and in close cooperation with them.

Hans Marx, of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU], responsible for local policy in the office of the CDU Executive Committee, read a greetings message to the founding conference on behalf of the CDU Executive Committee.

New Socialist Youth Association Forms

LD0303231290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1934 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The "Rosa Luxemburg" Independent Socialist Youth Association [USJV] was founded in Berlin on 3 March as a republic-wide youth association. In its constitution, it describes itself as a left-wing youth association of the GDR, independent of parties and organizations, and is in favor of a humanist socialist alternative on German soil. [passage omitted] For the People's Chamber elections, the USJV has joined the election alliance of the United Left and the Carnations with two candidates, Konstantin Leinhos and Stephan Greiner-Petter.

Association for Unemployed Forms

LD0203162190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1447 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—A GDR Association of the Unemployed (ALV) was founded in Berlin today. It intends to represent the specific interests of the unemployed, promote self-help and the solidarity of those in jobs with workers who have lost theirs, and support strategies for creating jobs and retraining programs, as well as legal and social care. Representatives of the Berlin, Frankfurt/Oder, and Potsdam area groups, as well as from enterprises and academic institutions, decided this at a regional conference. By the end of March, a Land delegate conference will confirm the association's provisional constitution and program. [passage omitted]

Entrepreneurs' Association Founded

AU0203115590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Feb 90 p 5

[Manfred Jaeger report: "Entrepreneurs Found Association For Saxony-Anhalt"]

[Text] Six medium-sized enterprises in the GDR that were nationalized in 1972 will be the first to be reprivatized in the next few days. By the end of 1990, about 10,000 enterprises will be reprivatized. That was stated by Rudolf Stadermann, the GDR Entrepreneurs' Association's acting president, on the occasion of the founding of such an association for Saxony-Anhalt. Members of this association are roughly 1,000 private tradesmen and artisans, owners of companies and firms, and members of cooperatives.

The entrepreneurs confirmed their stance on market economy in the GDR, which will be socially and ecologically oriented. They were backed by prominent politicians from the FRG. Foreign Minister Genscher, who briefly attended the founding function in the Buna Club Center as a guest, said that this was the hour of the entrepreneurs. Real existing socialism was being replaced by a practically functioning market economy, he said, and added that as the FRG vice chancellor, he

would help create the external conditions of a European Germany in talks with the Four Powers, the CSCE states, and the European communities.

FRG Economics Minister Haussmann stressed that the GDR was a country that had to be improved in many respects; but it was not a country going bankrupt. However, it had to be clear that this would, above all, require an investment miracle, not a consumption and travel boom, he said. Haussmann said that the FRG was in excellent economic condition, investing billions of deutsche marks abroad; now part of the capital must to be redirected to the GDR.

Democratic Womens' Federation Holds Congress

LD0403041590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2312 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—At the extraordinary national congress of the Democratic Women's Federation (DFD) today, Eva Rohmann was reelected chairwoman. The new national executive of the DFD contains 80 women. After a 15-hour debate, the congress confirmed the provisional program and the organization's new statute.

Eva Rohmann called for a women's group in the future GDR parliament. She presented herself to the 600 delegates to the national congress, together with the other 10 top candidates for the People's Chamber elections. [passage omitted]

Eleven DFD area organizations nominated 61 candidates for the election. The organization's program for the election on 18 March is labeled "Through Women More Democracy." [passage omitted] The DFD aims to back a new women's policy that secures equality of opportunity for women and men and guarantees social equality and economic independence. [passage omitted]

Eva Rohmann noted in her address that since last November the organization has been, in practice, a nonparty political organization whose members are taking part in the country's renewal. [passage omitted]

Writers Union Elects President

LD0303172590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0921 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Rainer Kirsch today was elected the new president of the GDR Writers' Association in Berlin. He received 185 out of 327 valid votes of members present on the last day of the deliberations of the association's extraordinary congress in Berlin.

Stefan Heym was elected honorary president by acclamation.

Horn 'Expected' To Sign Troop Withdrawal Pact

LD0303104790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] The Hungarian foreign minister is to go to Moscow in a week's time, and it is expected that the intergovernmental agreement will be signed on the complete withdrawal of the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary.

Gyula Horn, in reply to a question by NEPSZABADSAG, did not qualify the consultation of experts in Budapest on 1 March as unsuccessful. However, he indicated that they did not come to an agreement over a very significant question. According to the Hungarian stance, every Soviet soldier should return home by the middle of next year at the latest. However, Moscow does not want this, saying that there are not enough rail cars for the transportation of the troops and military equipment and that transhipment at border stations is slow.

Despite this, the Hungarian foreign minister believes that an agreement will be successfully reached, and the intergovernmental agreement on the complete withdrawal of the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary can be concluded.

Trade Ministry Official on Debt to USSR

LD0203163590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] As is known, the Hungarian Government recently halted exports to the Soviet Union, claiming that the Soviet side is insolvent. It is for this reason that surprise was generated when on 1 March IZVESTIYA published debt figures, i.e., the amounts that the socialist countries owe the Soviet Union. It discloses that Hungary owes the USSR 622.5 million rubles [R]. Agnes Papp spoke to Ministry of Trade chief Laszlo Timar.

[Begin recording] [Timar] Hungary's long-term debt to the Soviet Union is of this magnitude. This means that this is the sum of Hungarian debt outstanding in terms of repaying credits and interest received in the past. This debt is to be repaid by 1993.

[Papp] A reader of this news report about the high level of debt must ask why the Hungarians are halting exports to the USSR while it is we who are in debt.

[Timar] I can only refer again back to the fact that it is a long-term debt. The particular credit agreement lays down that this year [1990] the Hungarian Government owes R 304 million in capital and interest.

[Papp] In contrast, what is the Soviet Union's debt?

[Timar] The Soviet Union has a short-term debt, ie. in the current balance of payments, the sum of which on 28 February amounted to R 825 million.

[Papp] In other words, the 300 million is set against the 825 million this year?

[Timar] Well, it can be put this way, too.

[Papp] On this basis, it is obvious that the Hungarian limitation of exports is justified.

[Timar] Naturally.

[Papp] Then what is the reason behind the publication of this news just now?

[Timar] The reason is not the Soviet claim vis-a-vis Hungary because the Hungarian debt is about 0.7 percent of the total outstanding foreign claims against the USSR. [end recording]

Szuros on Army's Future, Soviet Withdrawal

LD0303052990 Budapest MTI in English 2317 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 2 (MTI)—On Friday at Bocskai Barracks in Debrecen, a celebration was held to mark the 45th anniversary of the 6th Hungarian Infantry Division and the Democratic Hungarian Home Defence.

Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic, the commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces, and Defence Ministry and Army leaders laid a wreath on the barracks' memorial wall.

Following, a festive staff meeting was held at Kossuth Barracks in Debrecen, with Matyas Szuros delivering a speech.

Szuros said, "Hungary's liberation from under the yoke of the party state permits us to face the past without the guise of hushing up and deliberate falsifications. Our people was compelled to put up for decades with the label of the "last hanger-on" and the sense of collective sin imposed on the whole of society.

"We are now witnessing a time of peace, rapprochement between the peoples and military blocs, strengthening confidence and shrinking troops and armaments. As a result, it also becomes unnecessary for foreign troops, namely Soviet military units, to be stationed in our country. Their final withdrawal is only a matter of time now.

"Such being the condition, the Hungarian Army faces the particularly huge responsibility of defending the country against any possible provocation or attack from the outside, and finding its place independent of parties and answering the interests of the entire country in the new democratic state order," Szuros said.

Romania Restricts Import of Books

LD0203135190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] We reported on 1 March that the competent Bucharest ministry denied that it was possible to send in books from abroad only if they were

destined for official Romanian organs. As far as textbooks from Hungary are concerned, the standpoint notes that these cannot be used in the curriculum, but they will be accessible in libraries for experts. The following is a denial of the denial. We were telephoned by Father Imre Kozma, a member of the Maltese charity. Agnes Papp spoke with him.

[Begin recording] [Kozma] Unfortunately, this report did not reflect the truth. Three days ago, three of our trucks set off with selected books. At the border, they were stopped and were not allowed to cross.

[Papp] Who stopped them?

[Kozma] The Romanian border guards because of a notification that no books whatsoever, not even storybooks, could be taken into Romania.

[Papp] Does this apply only to the Hungarians, or is it a general provision? What were you told?

[Kozma] We have no precise information whether this applies to all other nations. Probably not, since here they spoke expressly about Hungarian books.

[Papp] Did you not ask the Romanian Government for the chance to take these books in?

[Kozma] Yes, but the reply changed every hour. The telephoning went on for two days. Indeed, not only did we seek out the Bucharest ministries, but so did the Hungarian Foreign Ministry and the Hungarian Ministry of Culture and Education. They were told it was because there was irredentist literature among these books. That is entirely false, not even by chance could anything that was previously banned end up in it. [end recording]

[Announcer] We can be convinced whether or not what was said accords with the truth if we listen to Bela Toth, Biharkeresztes border crossing chief:

[Begin recording] [Toth] According to information I obtained from the Bors road crossing commander on 20 February, textbooks and works of fiction can go to Romania only when the addressee is a legal entity. Put in straightforward terms, this means the Ministry of Culture and Education in Bucharest. The exceptions to this are religious and church books, Bibles, [words indistinct]

[Announcer] So we cannot send any works of fiction or any textbooks from Hungary to private people in Romania?

[Toth] That is what I am saying, to private people.

[Announcer] Does this apply only to books from Hungary?

[Toth] No, this restriction applies generally to books being taken into Romania. [end recording]

Horn Discusses Aid With EC's Brittan

LD0203230590 Budapest MTI in English 1810 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 2 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn on Friday met Sir Leon Brittan, vice-president of the Commission of the European Communities in charge of financial policy.

Horn reported about the Hungarian Government's economic policy, and stressed the special importance of relations with the EC. He highly appreciated the assistance provided by the EC to Hungary, including the 1,000 million dollar bridging loan.

Sir Leon Brittan said the EC has given all possible assistance to Hungary and will continue to do so in future. He stressed the community agrees that a partnership contract should come about with Hungary that takes its characteristics into consideration, and which alike covers the political, economic and technical issues of relations.

He reconfirmed the commission holds the earliest possible opening of the EC's Budapest representation to be important.

Further on National Assembly Session

LD0103155390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] Our correspondents Gyorgyi B. Kiralyi and Erno Kardos report from Parliament building on the National Assembly's third day of work.

[Kardos] Only on the second attempt did parliament vote in favor of the national and ethnic minorities in Hungary having National Assembly deputies. At the same time, the deputies rejected the proposal that the churches should also have a mandate. Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar did not oppose this, although neither did he support it. However, the Assembly's Judicial Committee firmly rejected parliamentary representation for the churches.

[Kiralyi] Perhaps it was owing to this uncertain situation that the law did not get the necessary, qualified majority, on the first attempt. Of course, another reason could be that Miklos Tamas-Gaspar respectfully asked the deputies to reject the entire law; in this manner the parliament could leave behind fine memories in history because in the deputy's view this parliament has no authorization to amend the Constitution.

The constitution by the deputy who opposed the bill was received by dissatisfied clamor in the hall, but when a vote was taken, in an incomprehensible manner, nearly 60 deputies had not formed an opinion. They did not vote either in favor of or against the bill; they did not even abstain. For this reason, Mrs. Padar [not further identified] proposed that another vote be taken. Jeno Horvath said this would be [words indistinct]. Another

vote was called. Beforehand, however, Laszlo Cseloti reminded that on 28 February, in the Czechoslovak parliament, the Magyar deputies had been threatened. Therefore, a responsible parliament in Hungary now cannot pass a law against the parliamentary representation of nationalities.

[Kardos] Thus, a second vote was taken; in this case the bill received the necessary majority. The bill says that the Gypsies, the Croatians, Germans, Romanians, Serbians, Slovaks, and the Jews in Hungary in the coming period will have parliamentary representation. A few minutes ago, Istvan Fodor called for a vote by name on the independent motion by Zoltan Kiraly. In his contribution, Zoltan Kiraly said that a majority of parties did not adhere to the national roundtable's agreement; for this reason he proposed the amendment of the Constitution, to be precise, a direct election of the president of republic by the people. This is what the 325 deputies are now voting on.

Hungarians in USSR

LD0303154790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1026 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Introduction by Deputy National Assembly Speaker Laszlo Horvath, followed by Deputy Jozsef Debreczeni's address at the National Assembly session in Budapest; from a live relay]

[Text] [Horvath] We continue our work. We placed on our January agenda two independent motions by Deputy Jozsef Debreczeni pertaining to an amendment of the National Assembly resolutions Nos. 19/1989 and 20/1989. We sent these two motions to you before the January session under Nos. 483 and 484. Dr. Jozsef Debreczeni has now prepared one draft National Assembly resolution instead of the two submitted motions, which we have distributed during the session under No. 657. Let us regard this as the discussion material. Jozsef Debreczeni now has leave to speak.

[Debreczeni] Mr. Deputy Speaker, esteemed National Assembly: My motion is aimed at passing a National Assembly resolution. I hope it will not cause a government crisis. Allow me to read the draft text.

Resolution of the National Assembly to remedy the harm befalling Hungarian citizens who were deported to the Soviet Union for reparation work, as well as those who were convicted by courts of the Soviet Union and who in the meantime were rehabilitated for lack of a crime. The National Assembly, guided by the ideals of constitutional statehood, in the interest of promoting national reconciliation, considers it necessary to provide compensation to Hungarian citizens who were deported for reparation work in the Soviet Union, as well as those who were convicted by Soviet courts and were acquitted for lack of a crime. It states that these events were the consequences of a practice and theory based on Stalinist policy, as well as the concept of a guilty nation. These measures stripped tens of thousands of innocent people of their freedom, and kept them captive far away from their homeland, in conditions in which a considerable number of them perished.

The National Assembly dissociates itself from these methods of trampling rights underfoot, and, on behalf of Hungarian society, it makes amends for the sacrifices. It commits itself to make guarantees preventing the possibility that at anytime in the future a foreign state might comden and deport Hungarian citizens. No one can sustain disadvantages in the exercising of rights guaranteed in the Constitution, in the laws in force, and in other regulations, because of deportation for reparation work and the sentences that were borne. Government should take the necessary steps to compensate the people concerned.

Esteemed National Assembly, the fate of these unfortunate people would be an excellent opportunity for me to hold a long, effective oration on this affair; I could evoke human tragedies, personal fates; I could quote from the letters sent to me. I am not doing this for several reasons; from among these I will mention one. I feel that the just cause of these people is so obvious, and it is also apparent that the parliament of the Republic of Hungary must declare this just cause. Also they must be given retribution and compensation. This does not require any special performance in rhetoric. As regards compensation, if there might be doubts in this regard allow me to read a passage from the Constitution—Section 55, paragraph two, reads: One who has been the victim of illegal arrest or captivity is entitled to compensation. Thank you.

Defense Report Discussed

LD0203211590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1020 GMT 2 Mar 90

[From live relay of National Assembly session in Budapest, with contributions by Chairman Lajos Horvath and Erno Raffay, National Assembly Defense Committee chairman]

[Excerpts] [Horvath] The Defense Committee has concluded its work; it has made a report about it. I sent this earlier to my fellow deputies. I draw your kind attention to the fact that between pages 15 and 17 of this report you will find a draft National Assembly resolution. In place of this, a new draft resolution has now been completed, which we have distributed under No. 650. At the October session, fellow Deputy Dr. Ferenc Kiraly interpellated on the same topic to the defense minister. The National Assembly did not accept the minister's reply. I passed the interpellation to the Defense Committee for examination.

The committee has completed its report and we have distributed it under No. 611. In view of the fact that it is a question of identical topics, we will discuss the two reports together. I turn to committee Chairman Dr. Erno Raffay.

[Raffay] Esteemed National Assembly, the committee obtained its information basically from three main sources. First of all from the public hearings—we heard politicians and soldiers. Second, we asked for documents and reports from various institutions and bodies. And third, we received a great number of letters, reports and annotations from the country's entire territory, first and foremost from professional soldiers and civil servants. [passage omitted: The document amounting to thousands of pages is largely secret and lies in one of parliament's safes]

Esteemed National Assembly, here I have to say as an important experience that, in the words of one of the committee's members, in the past decades there has developed in Hungary a group of the so-called untouchables. What does this mean? As the committee's chairman I went to see everybody in this country—whether soldier, civilian, or policeman—from whom we got or could have got data. The committee found that above the level of deputy minister, at the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party level, above an even lower level—the responsible authorities were simply not able to examine anyone, could not get from the institutions that were very much responsible in this matter, data about former officials above a certain level, or only very little data, which we could not make use of.

The committee has worked out a few proposals that have not got into the draft resolution, so I give these verbally now in my submission. The committee asks the premier to order the finance minister to have the assets of the Czinege family members examined. The committee also respectfully asks the premier to order the finance minister to obtain from APEH [State Office for Examining Finances] an asset declaration from all the currently retired or active Army generals. The committee also, with great emphasis, calls on the leaders of the Defense Ministry and of the Hungarian Army that they should prevent and put an end to the practice of making use of conscript soldiers for private work. At the same time, we call on the military prosecutor's offices to devote emphatically much more attention to these matters. Here it is a question of the construction of homes and holiday homes of the professional staff.

I said, esteemed National Assembly, that I would not outline the report in detail, there would be no sense in this. With respect, I would like to highlight two factors, squeezing the two into one minute. One of these is the Army's party direction by the one-time Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. And the other is the entry into Czechoslovakia in 1968. The two are, in fact, closely connected. The Defense Committee, after the first hearings, and after the other information that was received, found itself face to face with the issue that—to use a popular saying—it is the fish's head that makes it stink. This does not apply only to fish, not only to civilian society, but in a given instance also to the Army. Namely, to be quite precise, to the party direction of the Army by the former Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. In this connection, you know our standpoint from two to three pages of the committee's report. All I would like to say is that the committee's unequivocal stance is that the party direction of the Army must in all events be abolished, or, with regard to the future, it is the committee's determined standpoint that the direction of the Army by a party or parties must not in any circumstances be reintroduced, with the objective that the Army should not be the Army of one or other party currently in government or currently in opposition, but the Army of the nation.

The other topic is the entry into Czechoslovakia in 1968. In this connection, I would like to read the last sentence of the relevant section: According to the committee's unequivocal findings, the entry, which was a grave violation of Czechoslovak sovereignty, took place not out of a Hungarian but rather out of a foreign interest. And here it is unequivocably a question of Soviet interests. And the way the 1968 entry came to be examined by the committee—after all the Bokor book does not mention this—is that, as a matter of fact, the 1968 series of events was one of the main tests of party direction. [passage omitted]

Esteemed National Assembly, I have exceeded the 10 minutes, for which I apologize. I would, with respect, ask the deputy president for one more minute and then I shall conclude. Before you lies the draft resolution, under No. 650. Point two of this establishes the political responsibility of the government, according to which the governments of the Kadar era did not fulfill their constitutional duties relating to the direction and supervision of the Defense Ministry. For this reason, they are burdened with governmental responsibility for all those abuses and immoral conditions that have evolved in certain leading circles of the Army. In point three is found the concrete case of Kaszopuszta [fenced-off hunting ground] and the affairs of Lajos Czinege. The committee with respect commends this to the attention of the supreme state prosecutor. If parliament adopts our draft resolution, then it obliges the chief public prosecutor, and, in the subsequent points, it compels the State Audit Office and the Council of Ministers.

Esteemed National Assembly, I thank you for your attention. I have concluded my submission. [passage omitted]

Nemeth on Security Service

LD0203205290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Speech by Premier Milos Nemeth at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed National Assembly, Mr. Chairman: Thank you for allowing me to say a few things before the reply is given, if only because two deputies, that is two deputies representing the Hungarian Democratic Forum, have addressed two questions to me, and to those who are listed in the supplement, the no. 2 supplement. [Passage omitted: he regrets that some deputies

have left the hall, hopes they will hear what he has to say now; thanks the Assembly's investigative committee for its hard work] Allow me, before replying to the two concrete questions, to go back a bit historically, not 10, 20, or 30 years, but only to 1989. All of us know that the events of the past year were of great significance, some of them will be marked in history as turnabouts. On 23 October, we were able to proclaim the Republic of Hungary. For this country, this National Assembly, to get to this date, the understanding and support of many of us, of government and parliament, of the parties and, I add, of the people and society was necessary. This path was not easy. We, who were in it, and who still are in it, with greater and less success, occasionally making mistakes as well, can still be proud of this year, together with all of its mistakes and erroneous decisions.

Although at least in the economic sphere I did not sit far away from the smoke, I am not ashamed of admitting, esteemed National Assembly, that when I was elected premier, on your behalf, to be sure I needed three or four months to fully take over and become familiar with the work that a government must do to be able to lead a country.

In the meantime, decisions had to be taken in organizational-personnel issues, in many other matters. Blank patches had to be explored, and in some manner it was necessary to set off from the inherited track and direction into another one. The people and history will judge how successful this was. We do not want to qualify our own work.

However, it is a fact, doubtless, that we had to do this work, dismantle the party state, and create autonomy and independence for government in a manner such that, in the meantime, the government functioned and acted in opposition to the Constitution that was in force, since in the Constitution that was in force there were theses that you eliminated with full justification before 23 October. Therefore, there was a party state. The party state had a decision-making structure and mechanism. In the meantime, it was necessary, step by step, to expand, dismantle, and create new possibilities. In this hall, there are several people who can demonstrate and show that sometime around last summer I myself suggested that, in the structure of the party state, in the party leadership of the time, the Interior Ministry was not right the way it was; the Hungarian Army or People's Army was not right the way it was; the Workers' Guard was not right the way it was—but I did not have the possibility to carry my proposals through. Those, with whom I was discussing the matter did not agree that we should take state security out of the Interior Ministry, that we should place it alongside the premier, and that we should place over it a parliamentary committee or one appointed by the Council of Ministers, which would direct and control this work in the most correct and accurate manner possible.

The reply was that this could not be....[Nemeth changes thought] I regret that Karoly Grosz is not sitting here, because it was primarily he with whom I conducted this discussion—because there was a certain Konrad affair. You have heard and read reports on this from the press. If such a Konrad affair were to fall into its hands in one or two cases, the Council of Ministers' chairman immediately would fall, or in connection with such and similar matters, he would have to face an inundation of internal political or foreign political problems.

There is truth in this, according to the conditions and concept of the time. But by virtue of what you created with your most recent decision, and to be sure the future parliament will enact a long-term national security law, this is not an affair, and it is not a question. I believe that you, and we, most recently took the right decision.

Along with the enormous number of matters and problems that have been referred to here—the economy, the political transition, laws—I personally had to decide what sphere I should begin work on. I chose the Army, and I trusted, also having the promise of the minister of the interior at the time, that work of this type would cease to exist here, it would be eliminated, and that work here would take place according to the requirements of the democratic legal order of the new Constitution. It is possible that I was mistaken, and I have said in an interview that the two should have been done, directed, and reorganized in parallel. I did not have enough energy and time. I owe and accept responsibility for this.

If we have to find a boundary to set off the party state, I recommend that we choose the periods before and after 23 October [1989]. All of us know what happened and how then; several people here have referred to this. It was unconstitutional, it violated personal rights, and it is necessary to clear these things away, but not in a manner so that we clear away the country's basic and important interests at the same time. Because the state does, indeed, have security interests, whether these are security interests related to terrorism, drugs, or international relations. Without divulging confidential secrets, I should like to tell the esteemed National Assembly, and through this the country's public, that not so long ago premiers who were visiting us thanked me personally for the capture at Ferihegy [Budapest airport] of the terrorists who had wanted to carry out terrorist actions against President X, Y [as heard] in Hungary. That is only one example.

I, myself, in this 1989 process, on three occasions asked for stepped-up attention from the Interior Ministry organs, not for my own personal sake but taking the country's interest as my point of departure. Excuse me—I shall speak for a long time, but I ask for your patience. The first [case] involved substantive personal motives. We prepared the burial of Imre Nagy and his associates by knowing, in the meantime, that there was not agreement in the party leadership at the time. When the government rightly assumed the full responsibility for this decision, in cooperation with all of them [forces favoring Nagy's reburial], and also enjoying the support of the country's public, I received a message not in any

old manner. I recieved it on the "K" telephone, which is not the normal but the special line. There is such a telephone for the premiers, and at the moment, for as long as I am premier there is such a telephone at my home. Well, please, I received on several occasions through the "K" telephone at my home, which is not accessible to just anybody, the message that if I went to the burial of Imre Nagy, I would be shot down there, together with Bela Kiraly. And please, this was repeated at 0030 hours in the night. There was not enough decency in the person or persons concerned—it was repeated to my child, my elder child. Well I do not wish such days on anyone. Yes indeed, I asked the Interior Ministry organs to please look into this matter, since the issue at hand was a "K" telephone.

The second occasion is connected with 23 October 1989. Please add 4 November too, to this. I requested it [that the security organs should investigate] then, too.

At one of the Council of Ministers sessions, in November, at the beginning of November—our custom is that when we have finished the agenda we take it in turn, starting with the female ministers, that the ministers give an account of reports, information of such a type that it behooves the government members to know. Well, we all take our turn, we get to mr. minister of industry, and mr. minister of industry gives certain indications in connection with the fact that here and there in the country, at certain big enterprises, certain persons seem to be striving, as if deliberately, to incite disruptions in production, first and foremost in energy supply and public services.

At the Council of Ministers session that morning, before 0900, I received a phone call from the council chairman of Deputy X saying that someone was going to call on me and he asked me particularly that I should devote five minutes to this person. Well, in regard to the fact that there were serious issues on the government's agenda, I was not able to receive the person. But the individual did indeed come to Budapest. When the Council of Ministers' session was over, at around 1930 there was a sealed [word indistinct] envelope on my desk. One does not usually throw away letters like this. The individual, the council chairman of County X, writes to me: Dear Miklos: a certain individual will go to see you, with—if it is true—vital information. I ask you particularly to devote a few minutes to this person. Signature. [unspecified] I opened it and since I was unable to receive the individual, I would like to read out his letter here. Dated 2 November 1989, Place: County, it doesn't matter which.

[Reading letter] Esteemed Mr. Premier. This morning at 0650, someone came to see me with the following information: The former leader of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]—I would not like you to mix it up—see no other possibilities for reversing the processes than an armed takeover of power. For this they have won over the leaders of the big enterprises too. They wish to create confusion in the material, water, and energy supply—and it is here that the information given by mr. minister of industry at the Council of Ministers session harmonized with this in an interesting way. [continues reading] With this they will incite the dissatisfaction of the workers of the big plants. After this they will arrest the government leaders. They are counting on Czechoslovak and Romanian military assistance. The information's source is the managing director of a big enterprise in the town of X, who has seemingly promised cooperation—with the organizers, that is. Take my report seriously. I am not signing it, but I have brought the letter in person with very great respect and anxiety.

In the days following this, I spoke to the minister of interior saying that we should take reports of this nature seriously and that we should have a look. I gave the location. I was able to give it because the weekend after that I found the means to seek out the letter's author. Please, the news turned out to be true. [passage omitted containing repetitive material]

Well, I will not list any more examples. One more thing perhaps, though not an example: It is indeed the prevailing government's responsibility, the prevailing government chairman, to defend legal order and the Constitution. Those reports—it is a question of seven that are listed—from these reports, as the report infers, there could be no conjecture as to the methods and Constitution-violating means by which this was being carried out.

My responsibility, that I did not speed up this whole work, and did not make order as we did in the Hungarian defense in coordination with the Army leaders, I was late in this; I see my own responsibility in this. I initiated, and somebody referred to this too, and it is very regrettable that at the trilateral talks this question was granted civic rights, for then in all probability this would not have continued thus—there was a reference to this too—the apparatus functioned almost automatically, and wished to justify itself.

I receive such material from other ministries too—not through bugging and letter opening—and the future government should receive this too, for it pertains to them, but these are of such quantity that I must say that after a few months a person reads them routinely and ticks them off routinely. Unfortunately you can draw your conclusions about their quality from this too. I hope the new services can improve on this, and there is every hope for this, knowing the leaders.

Well, if you will permit, [I will reply] to the two questions. Gabor Roszik asked what we replied to the question of KEPES HET. [jocular remark omitted] The question of KEPES HET went thus: Did you receive information from the distributor? [Eloszto—reference to internal security official who dealt with distribution of the acquired material] In the bugging scandal documents that has become known under the name of Dunagate, there is a recurring question: 14 people receive this through the distributor. [as heard] As to who the distributor is, this transpires through the investigation's course.

We made a (?guess) as to who these 14 people are, and we asked: Are you in the 14? If not, then according to you who can they be?

Well, they asked me, too. These are the 14—and this is the reply that I would like to briefly outline now. I received the documents concerned on 5 January, if I remember correctly, from SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] representative Janos Kis, and Gabor Fodor of FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats]. They handed it over personaly, with a letter. I came across material of this nature for the first time now, that is then. I said already then, that in my capacity as premier, I regularly receive various classified, that is confidential material, protected information. Thus I received and receive summarizing reports, analyses from the interior minister, and on occasion from his deputies—not just one, but from his other deputies too. So, these 14 by whom the whole scandal...[changes thought] or which was shown, broadcast on television, these 14 are in now way [word indistinct] [sentence as heard].

Now comes 23 October. I, and I think those listed who were asked by KEPES HET, certainly did not receive such things. [Nemeth does not specify what] It transpired later during the course of the investigation that these were distributed internally, evaluated or processed, and later discarded, internally, within the frameworks of the apparatus itself.

Why did they not stop it after 23 October? Well, this is addressed first and foremost to me, for this apparatus still worked then as a part of the Interior Ministry, and it is I who can give the interior minister instructions. Well, to this I can briefly say that during the summer, as the report infers, we did indeed start the reform of all this. And, since it did not transpire from that which I received—this can be checked—how these were prepared, and with what kind of methods, and in more than one case I read the information earlier in the newspapers than from a report of this kind that I received, I, I admit, from this point of view did not devote [word indistinct] attention to this. I was interested in the organization, the function and harmony with the Constitution. And for this reason, I initiated, speeded up the work. By the time this so-called Dunagate scandal came to light, we were already finished with the papers and with those proposals too, which we then brought here before the parliament. This too can be checked from the Council of Ministers' minutes. Well, these can be put out in the wall newspapers. All of them. Thus, after the 1 March hearing, I asked for information from the justice minister, the chief prosecutor—as lawyers they gave me information that either the person who ordered that these data should be secret—well he is not there, the interior minister has resigned of course, or I can give permission to lift these [as heard].

Since according to our latest decision the State Security Office and the Information Office work under the prime minister's supervision, therefore I sent the following letter to them. [passage omitted reading out the list of relevant legal paragraphs which entitles him to make this decision]

[Reading letter to State Security Office, Information Office] I terminate the classification as state secret of the documents determined in the attached memorandum—since the committee had made this memorandum available to me—as of today. Please ensure without delay the implementation of this.

This was received by Lajos Nagy and Istvan Bercze, heads of the two offices. Therefore I do not commit any infringement of state secrets—and I will not offer only a taste of these papers, but can hand over all seven to the press too, but since it would infringe rights of personal privacy, corrections are necessary.

Let me go on to 5 December 1989: Concerning the activity of the X party in Nyiregyhaza. [passage omitted joking about the laymen's fear of lawyers]. [Reading] Report to the Ministry of the Interior. Strictly Secret. At the bottom of it here are the names four or five of us who receive it.

[Continue reading] According to the data checked by the Ministry of the Interior, X Party's Nyiregyhaza town group has begun an action of information gathering to discredit Mr X. For this they want to make use of Mr X's or rather Mr X's brother's AVH [State Security Office in the Stalinist regime in Hungary] past and are also gathering his strongly pro-Communist statements published in the past MSZMP press. They are contemplating similar actions regarding the discrediting of government members, too. They intend to publish these findings prior to the particular [constituency] election—in tandem with their political tactics. [passage omitted mentioning another report entitled "Development processes of the main polticial forces, the experiences of the work of the Ministry of the Interior" that he does not want to read out because it is seven pages long, which he describes as "primitive, substandard;" another three-page report is judged by Nemeth to be too boring for the deputies, he repeats his promise that he will make these reports available to the press; he supports Miklos Gaspar Tamas' proposal calling on those involved in the bugging scandal to leave politics]

Report on Security Service

LD0203202290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1323 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Statement by Miklos Tamas Gaspar, deputy representing the Alliance of Free Democrats, on committee investigating the Internal Security Service delivered at the Hungarian National Assembly chaired by Laszlo Horvath in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] [Horvath] We now turn to a discussion of our next agenda point. The committee investigating the activity of the internal security service has completed its work; it has prepared a report that we have distributed

amongs the deputies under No. 655. [passage omitted] Miklos Tamas Gaspar has indicated that he wishes to speak, I hand the floor to him.

[Gaspar] Esteemed National Assembly, I greatly regret that the chairman of the committee [investigating the activity of the internal security service] has not had the opportunity to outline the report. For this reason, I am compelled to diverge from the original plan, which would have determined my contribution, and in this situation of constraint outline the report in some manner. Otherwise, I have nothing to attach my comments to. [passage indistinct]

[Horvath] The deputies have received the report, they have read it and are familiar with it, so there is something to which you can attach your comments.

[Gaspar] Thank you, that facilitates my task. Esteemed National Assembly, the task of this committee was to investigate whether the state security service violated the Constitution when, in light of the data that had become public, it became apparent that it conducted investigations with secret means against legally registered democratic parties and opposition organizations, which were institutions of the new democratic Hungary. The committee has established that this activity conflicted not only with the Republic of Hungary Constitution, which was proclaimed on 23 October 1989, but it also established that this activity also violated the earlier constitution of what was then the Hungarian People's Republic. We can also establish that this activity was linked to the character of the party state.

Esteemed National Assembly, what is at issue is a vestige of the party state. The state security service protected the dictatorship, the Communist dictatorship, with tools, technology, and logic that were consequences of the dictatorship itself. [passage omitted] Everyone knows, and it now has emerged for the committee, thereby for the National Assembly, and the public, as well, that the data that the dictatorship's secret service obtained by means that violated the constitutional rights were also obtained by leaders of the party state, and it was in the wake of this that they, i.a., shaped their policy. It also is clear that this activity continued after the proclamation of the republic on 23 October. I have to say that in the course of the hearings, the committee's impression was that what happened here, properly speaking, was an automatic process. The political factors that at one time commissioned the reports, and in limited numbers continued to receive the reports with not-very-great significance in the current political situation, stemmed simply from the fact their old reflexes did not devote attention to complying with old trivialities such as the requirements of the constitutional state. Esteemed National Assembly, here, no one took notice that a violation of the Constitution was taking place simply because, as we have heard from several leading politicians and the service leaders, from a pragmatic viewpoint this did not have special significance for them.

At the same time, we must pay attention not to the pragmatic viewpoints, but to the moral requirements of the constitutional state. Esteemed National Assembly, I have to say that this is what is expected of us. In front of the country and you, I have to reveal, I cannot conceal, who from among the current leadership received these reports. [words indistinct] (?On 25 October), seven documents are in question. They were received by Matyas Szuros, Miklos Nemeth, Imre Pozsgay, Gyula Horn, Rezso Nyers, and Jeno Kovac. Also on 25 October, a similar report was received by Matyas Szuros, Miklos Nemeth, Imre Pozsgay, Gyula Horn, Rezso Nyers, and Jeno Kovacs. On 2 November, such things were received by Miklos Nemeth, Rezso Nyers, and Jeno Kovacs, and also on 2 November, by Rezso Nyers, Matyas Szuros, Miklos Nemeth, Imre Pozsgay, Peter Medgyessy, Gyula Horn, and Ferenc Karpati; on 8 November by Matyas Szuros, Miklos Nemeth, Imre Pozsgay, Gyula Horn, Rezso Nyeres, and Jeno Kovacs; on 27 November by Matyas Szuros, Miklos Nemeth, Imre Pozsgay, and Rezsoe Nyers; on 5 December by Matyas Szuros, Miklos Nemeth, Imre Pozsgay, and Gyula Horn.

Since political questions are at issue here, I have to say that as the committee has concluded these reports are not of special significance although they contain some political information about the democratic parties. It was merely a continuation of an activity that once took place in much greater quantity with much greater significance and much greater intensity. The committee established that it was not clear, regarding the concerned leaders of government and the Hungarian Socialist Party, what means were used to obtain this information; this has to be admitted. It is a question, and I am not the one to judge this, whether or not they should have looked into what was at issue here. It also has to be pointed out that certain reforms had been planned for the secret service's activities, which certain elements of government did not have the means to implement in the short period that elapsed.

In summary, I must say, esteemed National Assembly, that what happened here was really a violation of the Constitution. What happened was that in the course of the transition the people who were supporters of changing and reforming the system did not sense the moral and legal requirements of the new democratic situation. For this reason, I think it would be correct if they would withdraw from political life after the elections. Thank you.

Security Debate Closed

LD0203231690 Budapest MTI in English 1732 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 2 (MTI)—The fourth day of the parliament session closed with a debate over the report of the parliamentary committee examining the activity of the internal security service of the Ministry of the Interior.

The committee investigated the operational methods of the internal security service, and prepared a report on this. The body will "remain in office" until the next parliament is convened, as its task is to indirectly control how the regulations of the legal measures passed to supervise the special secret service means are observed. Parliament authorized the minister of justice with direct supervision, however, he also must report to the committee every month.

Gaspar Miklos Tamas (AFD) [Alliance of Free Democrats] said in the debate it was a unanimous fact that the state security service violated the Constitution with its activity. He added that the operation of the service was contradictory not only to the new Constitution, but also violated the paragraphs of the old basic law.

Gaspar Miklos Tamas read out the names of the politicians who received the reports of the state security service. He was of the opinion that these political leaders, including the interim president of the republic, the prime minister, the minister of state, the president of the Hungarian Socialist Party, did not perceive the moral and legal requirements of the new democratic situation. Therefore, the MP deemed it would be correct if these politicians would retire from political public life after the elections.

MP Gyorgy Banffy (Hungarian Democratic Forum) asked, on behalf of the parliamentary group of his party, why the prime minister, or the minister of state, did not take effective and immediate measures to discontinue the use of banned methods, as one could easily surmise from the reports how the information included in them was obtained.

Gabor Roszik (HDF) [Hungarian Democratic Forum] said that, on the basis of the internal security scandal, it can be supposed that the representatives of the ruling party had advance knowledge of the planned steps of the opposition at the trilateral political coordination talks.

In the ensuing debate, the two parliamentary MPs of the Alliance of Free Democrats left the hall.

System Changes Discussed

LD0203191790 Budapest MTI in English 1608 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 2 (MTI)—A growing tension and anxiety can be experienced among civil servants, and within this, among public administration workers, over the past weeks and months, said Csaba Hamori (HSP) [Hungarian Socialist Party], at the session of parliament.

He said that in the transition period, it would be important to define, by relying on the agreement between the parties, the public administration functions, the fulfilment of which are closely connected to a given political system, and in which changes in personnel can be expected after the change in government.

In his reply, Zoltan Gal, secretary of state at the Ministry of the Interior, said the affair is one of the key issues of the peaceful change in system also under the evaluation of the government.

From the point of the country's future, he termed the issue of whether the operation of the state apparatus and state administration can be upheld to be a decisive one. At the same time, he added that he cannot give a unanimous and clear government promise for this. The issue can be genuinely be settled only with political means, that is the solution mainly depends on whether the political forces that are to influence the country's future will attest due wisdom or not.

Both the MP [Member of Parliament] and parliament accepted the answer given by the secretary of state.

On Romanian Hungarians

LD0303052190 Budapest MTI in English 2240 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 2 (MTI)—Participants in the parliamentary session received the statement of Foreign Affairs Committee in Budapest on Friday.

The document says that the Hungarian public sees with growing concern the mobilization of political organizations professing racial and religious discrimination in the process of Romanian transformation. This is the reason why, after a promising start, Romanian-Hungarian confrontation is becoming again the propelling force of action instead of the much-desired compromise.

It is alarming that the initiatives at restoring the rights of Transylvanian Hungarians on the basis of self-determination, primarily the enforcement of the inalienable right to native-language education, meet with fierce resistance among certain groups of Romania's population influenced by base intentions. This goes to show that as a result of the previous policy in Romania, national hatred is deeply rooted in the people's minds, and major forces are still interested in stalling the process of democratic advancement by fuelling conflicts.

The anti-Hungarian slogans frequented by the earlier Romanian policy and keeping afloat the accusation of external intervention are reviving in an alarming form in Romanian public life. It is regrettable for Romania's leadership to retreat in the face of these narrow-minded demands, to revoke measures taken to improve the minorities' position, to delay the necessary moves and to subordinate the settlement of the minority issue to power tactics.

The statement next points out: Hungarian society has from the outset supported with active solidarity the Romanian changes sweeping away the dictatorial regime, and the process of democratic restructuring in the hope that nor the other side wants to miss the historic opportunity offered by the victorious revolution of

Romanians and the national minorities for a Hungarian-Romanian compromise and the settlement of relations between the two countries. [sentence as received]

The Hungarian people expect Romania to prove by concrete deeds the statements promising to reinstate the rights of the seriously maltreated national minority, and to move to set up the guarantees and institutional conditions of these rights.

The Romanian Hungarians have to be reinstated into their rights on the basis of full equality of chances and universal human rights, through meeting the commitments posed by the Helsinki documents.

Momentary feelings fuelled by chauvinist circles of the Romanian majority should not curb the administration of this historic justice. Without the satisfactory settlement of the minority issue, there can be no democratic advancement in Romania, the document says and states that the realization of the declared aims of Romanian Hungarians may serve with a good basis for rapprochement between the two nations, and the establishment and development of mutually advantageous relations.

Hungarian society profoundly condemns and rejects all kinds of extremities and chauvinistic occurrences. To restrict such phenomena, it is invariably ready for cooperation with all progressive forces, always mindful of the fact that the position of Romanian Hungarians driven into a plight by former anti-democratic regimes is decisive for the relationship between the two countries.

The Foreign Affairs Committee feels it timely to renew the earlier proposal that the Hungarian National Assembly would send a parliamentary delegation representing broad social strata to Romania to pave the way for democratic advancement in Romania and Hungarian-Romanian compromise, and to study the position of Romanian Hungarians.

Nemeth's Report of Planned Coup Noted

LD0303130690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Excerpts] The local sensation of the past 24 hours was Miklos Nemeth's anouncement according to which a few months ago a group of provincial Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] leaders made an attempt at a takeover in which they counted on the military aid of the Czechoslovak and Romanian Governments at the time. [passage omitted]

On 2 March, the head of government announced in the National Assembly that last November he entrusted the then-interior minister with an investigation and the putsch attempt was discovered as a result. My colleague Jozsef Laszlo called Istvan Horvath that certain politician.

[Begin recording] [Laszlo] Mr. Horvath, was there a danger of a coup in Hungary in November 1989?

[Horvath] Let us say the news created by the example in the prime minister's speech that has created a scare for me is not frightening. I do not know which incident, which case the prime minister meant precisely. I did not listen to his speech, and I have had no communication with him since. I can only say that in my view, presumably, he mentioned this as an example to indicate the danger existing in the situation.

[Laszlo] He mentioned a very concrete thing, a letter, that indicated that in a certain county former MSZMP leaders and a few leaders of enterprises were plotting to call in Czech and Romanian troops.

[Horvath] Well, I did not actually see this letter, but the the prime minister and I discussed the case. On the basis of this, the competent organs of the Ministry of Interior carried out—let me use the appropriate expression—data control and certain information gathering.

[Laszlo] What did this information gathering lead to?

[Horvath] The final conclusion of this was that data, facts, or evidence that would have authentically proved that this presumption had any basis and that this sort of coup preparation was under way—no facts of legally probative force were gathered. [sentence as heard]

Henceforth, investigation, according to the rules of criminal proceedures, was not carried out, and such proceedings were not even started for the very reason, and I say this again, that the information gathering carried out in this matter resulted in insufficient evidence. [end recording]

Nemeth Reiterates Stance

LD0303203490 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Proof that the ripples from the 2 March announcement by the premier [Miklos Nemeth] have not abated is that the premier was asked about the coup attempt at an election rally in Sarospatak.

[Begin Nemeth recording] The initiative by certain leaders of the ill-omened Hungarian Socialist Workers's Party [MSZMP] and large enterprises was worded precisely in the letter. I do not know whether I have said so, but I always have it here in my jacket; let us see whether it is here. [laughter] I will look at it. Well, former MSZMP leaders see no other possibilities for reversing the processes than an armed takeover of power. For this, they have won over the leaders of the big enterprises.

It was a letter from a citizen who stated this and who had received information, knowledge of this. It is not equivalent to the fact [words indistinct]. But I asked the Ministry of Interior to consult and check this. There were such (?collusions) in various circles among leaders of (?large enterprises) and the MSZMP. Then, they saw and sensed, noticed that we were on their tracks, and the whole thing stopped. After this, after they got the first

sign that we were on their tracks—these were professionals—the gathering of further evidence came to a halt. So I was unable to obtain concrete objective evidence to be able to tell the country's population that these were X,Y, and Z, and that this was happening.

I will respectfully put the letter in the archives, in the interest of the person. There is the date, there is the name. In the interest and defense of the people, or those, who signaled this to me, I do not consider it fitting to make them public.

I have to speak with these people, and depending on their reply, I shall make a decision. I hope that it will at least be possible to name the county. Please, let us handle the issue in a level-headed and calm manner. I will deal with it responsibly, and as soon as the consultations have taken place, I myself will inform the country. [applause] [end recording]

'Coup Attempt' Described

LD0303222790 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Good evening. The country remains preoccupied with the astonishing 2 March announcement by the premier—the coup attempt. [passage omitted]

[Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati] ...In one of the recesses, the government was in session. Miklos Nemeth was called to the telephone, and he came back. He said that a delegation headed by Frigyes Puja was with Karoly Grosz, and that some kind of conspiracy was taking place.

[Former Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Chairman Karoly Grosz] On the first day of the congress, I was called on by a delegation, headed by Frigyes Puja. They anounced that their platform had ceased to exist, and they proposed that since it appeared that the party had fallen apart, we should set to work on reorganizing the party. The conversation took place in a hotel room, in the congress palace building. At this point, the door opened, and Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati appeared.

[Karpati] There they sat—Karoly Grosz, Frigyes Puja, some people whom I otherwise do not know by name, and they were talking.

[Grosz] Then he asked leave to speak, and he said that the Council of Ministers was now in session, and then it was raised that here, in my room, we were discussing an armed conspiracy with various groups, and he had come in order to see whether this was so.

[Reporter] Has the word armed conspiracy not been voiced, either by them or by you, since then?

[Karpati] No. I asked whether really some kind of conspiracy was being prepared. Then they said there was no question of such a thing. Well, I was reassured, and I went back to tell government this.

[Reporter] It would have been inconceivable, isn't that so?

[Grosz] Yes, it is inconceivable.

[Reporter] And a few weeks later, around 2 November?

[Grosz] Then it also would have been inconceivable. The conditions for this were not created by either the domestic political relations or the international situation.

[Reporter] At this time, there were disputes concerning the Workers' Guard, we were preparing for the referendum, we heard about a Romanian military threat, Roland Antoniewicz was in Prague, and you supposedly met with Milos Jakes. So there was much hearsay at that time. Couldn't there be a real basis for this coup attempt after all?

[Grosz] I do not think so, no. I could conceive of someone drinking two large spritzers, and then deciding that he will take power, but it would be an entirely unrealistic thing for a social force to take shape behind this, even to the smallest extent.

[Reporter] Do yo know anything about the armed conspiracy that Miklos Nemeth announced on 2 March at the parliamentary session?

[Karpati] I did not hear of it, I did not know of it.

[Reporter] But you should have known about it because in November there did not exist any armed forces apart from the Army and the police. The Workers' Guard had already been dismantled.

[Karpati] Well, I think that if something very serious had arisen, to be sure I should have known about it.

[Reporter] Would you know of it if the local party leadership and the local Army leadership had attempted something in one of the counties?

[Karpati] Obviously, I ought to have known about it.

Thurmer Wants Inquiry

LD0403181990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] demands concrete facts from Premier Miklos Nemeth about the alleged coup attempt planned for last November. This wwas stated by Chairman Gyula Thuermer at the party's mass election rally in Jaszbereny. In his view, the head of government's statement is just a cheap electioneering trick that serves to discredit the new MSZMP. Gyula Thuermer has urged that the National Assembly, with the involvement of the Supreme State Prosecutor's Office, should launch an investigation in the matter without delay, and has called on the Socialist Party to disassociate itself from what Miklos Nemeth has said.

Officials Comment on Report

LD0403182190 Budapest MTI in English 1650 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 4 (MTI)—The Budapest political weekly "VASARNAPI HIREK" (Sunday News) carries statements related to Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth's remarks made at the session of parliament on Friday. Mr Nemeth set forth the contents of a letter dated last November, according to which former Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party [MSZMP] county leaders saw no other possibility to turn back the processes than an armed take-over of power. They won over leaders of major county companies for their plans. They wished to cause disturbances in material, water and energy supply, to thereby cause dissatisfaction among workers in the plants. In the following, the plan called for the arrest of the government leaders. The organizers hoped to win Czechoslovak and Romanian military assistance for their action. Mr Nemeth also announced he received a threat against his life in case he attends the burial of Imre Nagy.

Regarding this home political scandal, Sandor Nyiri, deputy of the chief public prosecutor, informed "VASARNAPI HIREK" that the prosecutor's office has no information about the coup attempt. The condition for possibly charging the persons concerned is for the office to recieve investigation material from the Ministry of the Interior.

Secretary of state at the Ministry of the Interior Zoltan Gal informed the Sunday newspaper that his knowledge of the affair is not much more than what was heard in parliament. He added that the security service was also active against a roll-back.

Istvan Horvath, the former minister of the interior, had somewhat more information. Horvath said the following in the noon news programme of Hungarian radio on Saturday: The internal organs found no creditworthy proof of the coup attempt. Although they collected certain data, legally proven facts were not revealed, thus no official investigation was launched.

Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman of the Ministry of Defence, told "VASARNAPI HIREK" that the Romanian Army would not have been able to provide the hoped-for assistance, not only in view of its staff, but also its weapons and the poor mood among the soldiers. I hold the utilization of the Czechoslovak Army for such aims to be completely unreal, although for other reasons, Colonel Keleti said.

The internal conditions of a successful coup were also missing, for apart from the army, the border guards and the police force, there was no other armed force in the country in November, as the workers' militia was disbanded after October 23, and the military leaders are aware that the social, political and economic problems can be solved only with social, political and economic means. The army keeps out of the political fights. There should be no fears for peaceful transition with respect to the army, Colonel Keleti said.

Young Democrats Urge Trial

LD0303202790 Budapest MTI in English 1730 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 3 (MTI)—Viktor Orban, member of the board of the Federation of Young Democrats [FYD] also reacted to the recent stormy events, including the bugging scandal and the ensuing developments. Orban was speaking at the FYD election rally in Nagyteteny.

With respect to the developments of the bugging scandal, he said the FYD will demand that all leading politicians who received reports from the State Security Service be called to criminal responsibility. Orban added that the FYD will also demand that the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] politicians who can be suspected with the planned coup mentioned by Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth in his speech in parliament also be tried by courts.

Socialist Party Leaders Lead Popularity Poll

LD0303172190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] The Hungarian public opinion research institute has carried out an opinion poll on the popularity of politicians.

The popularity list is led by Hungarian Socialist Party members Gyula Horn, Mikkos Nemeth, and Matyas Szueros, and by independent Deputy Zoltan Kiraly. This is followed by two party leaders, Lajos Fuer, Hungarian Democratic Forum candidate, who is fifth; and Miklos Gaspar Tamas, the Alliance of Free Democrats candidate, who is sixth.

The opinion poll's most important finding is that the opposition politicians are not yet known well enough. Not a single personality from either of the three parties having the largest possible election basis—the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum], the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats], and the Smallholders' Party—emerges sufficiently to stamp his party on the public consciousness.

Green Party Announces Candidates

LD0303200490 Budapest MTI in English 1718 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 3 (MTI)—The Green party of Hungary entered a total 47 candidates in the capital and in 12 counties, and 14 succeeded in collecting the 750 recommendation slips necessary, it was announced on Saturday at the party's press conference in Budapest.

The party has put up county lists in Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen, Bekes, Gyor-Sopron and Somogy counties, and one candidate each is competing in Csongrad and Nograd counties.

There is great interest for the environmental protection ideas, and the party's membership has by now doubled from the 430 members registered three months back.

The party hopes that environmentalists will be able to enforce the party's program both in parliament and throughout the country following the municipal elections. This programme mainly aims at the protection of the natural environment.

Antall Speaks at MDF Rally in Varpalota

LD0403225490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] The Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] has held a rally. Jozsef Antall spoke in Varpalota. The MDF considers privatization to be indispensable, and it is of the opinion that foreign capital must be brought into Hungary. However, the transfer of assets into private hands or foreign ownership at great losses and through corruption cannot be accepted, party Chairman Jozsef Antall said at the Varpalota election rally. He also said that the MDF considers the activity of workers' councils to be extremely important.

Deputy Chief Prosecutor on Division of Power

AU0203102890 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Feb 90 p 6

[Report on interview with Deputy Chief Prosecutor Istvan Szabo, by Lajos Bodnar; place and date not given: "Who Benefits From a Depoliticized Prosecutor's Office?—Interview With Istvan Szabo on Division of Power, Parties, and Objective Supervision"]

[Excerpts] A tough debate was held on the constitutional role of the Prosecutor's Office during the preparations for modifying the Constitution last year. Should the Prosecutor's Office be within the jurisdiction of the government or of the parliament? The possibility of incorporating the Prosecutor's Office into the Justice Ministry was also considered. Exciting legal examinations carried out today have again directed the attention of public to the prosecutors' activity, and, therefore, the questions are justified: What is the constitutional status of the Prosecutor's Office? How does the former bastion of the monolithic state power work under the conditions of a multiparty system? We spoke about this with Istvan Szabo.

[Bodnar] For decades, the Prosecutor's Office has been connected to the party state almost as a "foster brother." However, the umbilical cord of the party guidance has suddenly snapped: The modification of the Constitution has created a new situation. Whom or to what is the Prosecutor's Office connected today?

[Szabo] Perhaps we were not foster brothers, but, no doubt, in the previous regime, all the government bodies—the state administration, courts of law, and public prosecution offices—were under party guidance. True, this has never been a direct guidance. This guidance was mostly implemented through the party members, and some political decisions determined the main framework of our activity. [passage omitted]

[Bodnar] The Prosecutor's Office is now working in a new political atmosphere, but the question arises whether it might not become an arena of political struggle? A successful legal investigation required by a party would also be political propaganda.

[Szabo] The constitutional modification adopted in October 1989 did not affect the constitutional legal status of the Prosecutor's Office. On the contrary, new constitutional guarantees emerged that are preserving the independence of the prosecutors' organization subordinated to the parliament. The chief prosecutor is elected by the parliament, at the proposal of the republic's president, and the deputy chief prosecutors are nominated by the republic's president. In order to guarantee a steady operation, the chief prosecutor is elected for six years. [passage omitted]

[Bodnar] According to the original proposal, the use of intelligence methods should have been authorized by the parliamentary commissioner or by the chief prosecutor. However, the premier made a compromise proposal, and, in many people's views, with this, he cut the Gordian knot. However, it seems that the constitutional principle of the division of power was also cut with this. What is your opinion about this?

[Szabo] The premier's proposal was aimed at solving the stalemate situation in the parliament. Besides, this is only a temporary decision and clearly the result of a compromise. As for the future, I am convinced that the national security organs' activity can be supervised only by an outside body. Given our constitutional regime, two bodies can be considered for this task: the Prosecutor's Office, which is independent from the government, or the National Assembly, which is above the government. [passage omitted]

[Bodnar] Has the burden of the Prosecutor's Office decreased or increased lately?

[Szabo] In the wake of the stipulations of the Constitution and of the basic laws, our tasks have increased considerably. Legal supervision over public organizations, constitutional court proceedings, and the Court of Registration's affairs have put a considerable extra burden on the Prosecutor's Office. At the same time, the new laws also compel our organization to carry out a new type of tasks. One example for this: According to the law on political parties, in the case of a party's violation of the law, the prosecutor can initiate legal action against the party in question. [passage omitted]

Reparations Could Be Linked to Border Dispute

LD0203191490 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Chancellor Helmut Kohl wants to link the issue of the Polish western border with Poland's renunciation of reparations, as well as a treaty assurance for the rights of Germans in Poland. Such a statement was made at a news conference in Bonn by government spokesman Dietel Vogel. Both those matters, the spokesman added, ought to be included in identical declarations, which could be passed by both German parliaments following the GDR elections.

[Begin recording] [Malgorzata Niezabitowska, government press spokesman] Mr. Vogel's statement is the latest of several statements made in the last few days by Chancellor Kohl and representatives of the Chancellor's Office, which has surprised us. As for the question of linking a treaty settlement of the Odra-Nysa [Oder-Neisse] border with the issue of guaranteeing the rights of Polish citizens of German origin, we are fully implementing those obligations concerning the German minority, contained in the statement signed by Chancellor Kohl and Premier Mazowiecki in November 1989. We would like only to recall here that those statements were mutual. The German side also began carrying out similar obligations toward the Polish minority in the FRG.

As for the 1953 treaty, which Poland signed, concerning the renouncing of [war] reparations, Poland did not want to link matters of the treaty settlement of the Odra-Nysa border with any other issues. However, if the FRG side wants to expand this subject, we will then come forward with the issue of damages for more than one million Polish citizens, who were in forced labor in the Third Reich during World War II. [end recording]

We received the statements of the governments of the FRG and Poland following after the end of Malgorzata Niezabitowska's news conference today.

U.S. Pressure on Kohl Deemed 'Most Important'

LD0203142190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Andrzej Zychowicz commentary]

[Text] Apart from the nationalist wing inside Chancellor Helmut Kohl's own party and the right-wing chauvinists from the Republican Party, other political forces in the FRG and the GDR regard Poland's border on the Odra and Nysa Luzycka as final. The chancellor himself declares that Poland's borders are inviolable, but he merely declares so, while when it comes to drawing conclusions from this declaration, that is, to making a political decision, he starts getting evasive. He would be prepared to have statements recognizing the Polish border made by the parliaments of the two German states after the 18 March GDR elections, but only statements. He rejects Premier Mazowiecki's proposal to prepare a treaty to be initialled by both German governments and parliaments before the unification. Thereby he himself creates a serious obstacle on the road to German unification, since for the European capitals, and for Washington, the issue of the Polish border has become a yardstick against which the political intentions of the future united Germany are measured. I think that it should be seen as a success for Poland's foreign policy that the issue of our border has gained such publicity and has brought diplomatic and political pressures on Kohl from outside, as well as the domestic pressure I mentioned.

There is the view that Kohl is acting the way he does because of the elections, since he does not want to lose the votes of the nationalist right, but the issue is far too serious to make it the object of pre-election games. A much more serious game is taking place before our eyes. Kohl wants to leave himself a way out. That is why he wants to delay the final decision on the border until Germany is unified and a joint government and parliament established.

Pressures on Kohl are growing, but the most important pressure is that which Washington is going to exert on him, since that is an ally with whom Kohl has to reckon, whether he likes it or not.

Walesa Appeals to FRG TV Chief Over Borders

LD0203191890 Warsaw PAP in English 1750 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Gdansk, March 2: Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa has appealed to president of the FRG trade unions (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund DGB) Ernst Breit to support "with his own authority and that of his organization Poland's stance on her participation in a conference of the four superpowers and two German states and a concept of confirmation by means of a treaty of the inviolability of the Polish borders on the Odra and Nysa rivers."

"I think that it would be useless to present arguments in this reapect as you know them well," Walesa wrote in a letter to Breit calling him a "friend of Poland."

"Europe is facing changes. Changing is also the face of the German states. Germany's strivings for unification are natural in my opinion and I follow their course with interest," Walesa wrote.

Hamburg DPA on Polish Compensation Stance

LD0203231490 Hamburg DPA in German 2143 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw/Hamburg (DPA)—The Polish Government intends to raise the subject of compensation for the one million forced Polish laborers, during World War II, should a German guarantee for the Polish western frontier be linked to a call for confirmation that reparations will be dropped and to contractual protection of the German minority. "If the Federal Republic wishes to

extend the range of topics then we shall demand the compensation of over one million Polish citizens who had to do forced labor," the Polish government spokeswoman said on television on Friday evening.

The Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki expressed great surprised on "Tagesschau" [News program on First German Television Channel], on Friday evening, that Chancellor Helmut Kohl, while announcing the guarantee statement by the two German parliaments, had raised the issue of the German minority. He [Mazowiecki] said that this issue had already been settled. The prime minister spoke in this connection about mutual obligations and mentioned the Polish minority in Germany. Concerning the renunciation of reparations in 1953 Mazowiecki said he had in his conversation with the federal chancellor mentioned the problem of compensation for Polish forced laborers. "If one views this problem within a greater framework then it involves claims by both sides."

Mazowiecki commented also on the heute-journal [news program] of Second German Television Channel on German reunification and German relations with Poland. He said that German unification had the blessing of Poland. Asked whether relations with the Federal Republic were strained, Mazowiecki said: "We appreciate the right to unification. It meets with our approval. ... However, if ambiguities continue to exist then relations will obviously be overshadowed." According to Mazowiecki there is "no reason why with a bit of goodwill a solution by treaty should not be found."

Asked whether he would like to have another personal talk with Kohl, Mazowiecki said that they had already talked with one another on the telephone. He had been surprised by the wish for a meeting between the federal chancellor and him expressed in Bonn. He had no objections, but he would like to see "that prior to such a meeting clear positions are adopted".

KPN Stages Rally on German Unification

LD0303095290 Warsaw PAP in English 0010 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 2—The Confederation for Independent Poland KPN staged a rally in front of its headquarters here today under such slogans as "nothing about us without us," "free countries in free Europe" and "secure Europe without any domination." KPN staged the manifestation to present its stand on the issue of German unification.

KPN's leader Leszek Moczulski, speaking from a balcony of a building which was the seat of the British Embassy before World War Two, recalled that the then Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Beck from the very same place on September 3, 1939 expressed the conviction that Poland together with France and Great Britain, which on that day joined the war against Germany, would bring that war to a victorious end.

"Over 50 years later, the issue of the victorious end of the war has not been brought to an end and we must continue this issue. Polish forces have to actively influence political realities in such a way that we will not experience a new Yalta or a new Potsdam. Poland and all European countries have the right to live in safe borders, without the danger of military aggression and economic expansion," said Moczulski.

He also presented KPN's stand in which it demands that issues related to the unification of Germany should be decided upon during a conference by all European states, the United States, the Soviet Union and Canada.

Michnik: Kohl Proposal 'Unprecedented Impertinence'

AU0503101390 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 5 Mar 90 p 3

[Interview with Adam Michnik, "chief editor of the Solidarity paper GAZETA WYBORCZA, civil rights activist, and Sejm deputy," by Livia Klingl in Vienna; date not given: "Michnik: Kohl Proposal Is Impertinent"]

[Text] [Klingl] How do you assess the proposal submitted by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, which links the recognition of the Oder-Neisse border by the Germans with a waiver by Poland of any claim to reparations?

[Michnik] This is an unprecedented impertinence. This means that the Germans have not changed.

[Klingl] Do you rule out negotiations on this basis?

[Michnik] I do not think that the German side is entitled to set any kind of conditions. It is inconceivable for me to make an issue out of this topic. After all, we were attacked and exploited by Hitler's Germany, and millions of our citizens were killed. The Germans lost the war only on the front, we lost it in Yalta. Using the language today that Kohl does means not understanding what the Germans have done to the entire continent. I am shocked, both as a Pole and a European.

[Klingl] Do you think that the FRG will become increasingly isolated because it wants to exclude Poland from the four plus two conference?

[Michnik] We only want to participate in part of the conference during which the security issues of our borders are discussed. This standpoint should meet with understanding in every European country.

[Klingl] However, basically you think that the Germans have a right to unification?

[Michnik] Yes, I do. There is no longer any doubt about that in Poland.

[Klingl] You visited the USSR last month. What is your impression concerning the struggles between reform-minded and conservative forces?

[Michnik] It is more than a struggle between reform-minded and conservative forces. The present-day Soviet Union fulfills all preconditions of Lenin's definition of a revolutionary situation. Those governed no longer want to live according to the old pattern, and the rulers have not yet developed a model for a new policy.

Skubiszewski Informs Envoys on Border Issue

LD0303164290 Warsaw PAP in English
0004 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 2: Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski received here today ambassadors of the Republic of Austria Gerhard Wagner, of the Kingdom of Belgium Thierry de Gruben, of the Kingdom of Denmark Niels P.G. Helskov, of the Kingdom of the Netherlands Johan Van Doesburgh and charge d'affaires A.I. of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Zdenek Chytil.

Minister Skubiszewski handed the diplomats signed notes addressed to ministers of foreign affairs of the countries they represent.

Due to his absence in Warsaw today Switzerland's Ambassador Richard Gaechter will be received by Minister Skubiszewski on Monday, March 5.

Minister Skubiszewski's signed note to the foreign minister of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg will be conveyed to Luxembourg's ambassador accredited to Poland Hubert Wurth having his permanent embassy in Moscow.

The notes refer to letters sent to the leaders of the four great powers by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki on February 20.

Minister Skubiszewski received also ambassadors of the Republic of France Claude Harel, of the Federal Republic of Germany Guenter Knackstedt and of the German Democratic Republic Juergen Van Zwoll. He informed the ambassadors of the content of the notes conveyed to the countries neighbouring on the GDR and the FRG.

The goal of sending notes to the listed countries was to present Poland's stand on the problem of signing a treaty on the Polish- German border and on Poland's participation in the two-plus-four talks on various external aspects of implementing German unity. Including the questions of security of Germany's neighbours, in tune with the communique adopted in Ottawa on February 13.

According to Poland the countries neighbouring on the FRG or the GDR are particulary interested in Germany's unification and international consequences of the process.

Mazowiecki on Kohl's Stance on Western Border

LD0303220090 Warsaw PAP in English
2058 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 3—Polish Television tonight broadcast a part of Prime Minister Mazowiecki's interview for West German ZDF TV network granted on Friday [2 March].

In the interview Premier Mazowiecki did not conceal his surprise over Chancellor Kohl's statements concerning Poland's Western border and Poland's resignation from war reperations.

"This hour of the unification process, vital for Germany, is not only an hour of Germany, but also an hour of Europe, it is an hour of Germany's neighbours. It is a test of Polish-German reconciliation. We are very particular about this reconciliation," said the Polish premier.

Asked whether he would want to meet once again with Chancellor Kohl, Tadeusz Mazowiecki said: "I have nothing against it, but I would like very much that some clear positions be taken before that meeting."

Third Reich Victims Request War Reparations

LD0303225890 Warsaw PAP in English
1942 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Bielsko-Biala, March 3—A meeting held at the initiative of the voivodship board of the Association of Poles- Victims of the 3rd Reich (SPP) and the local citizens' committee rallied here today members of the association and relatives of Nazi victims.

During the meeting, vice-president of the main board of SPP Mieczyslaw Janosz presented experts opinion on the bases of legal claims from individual people for war damages worked out by Professor Alfons Klafkowski.

According to the expertise, the initial estimates cover 13,315,000 poles entitled to claims for individual war damages for a total of 537.1 billion Deutsche mark or the equivalent of 284.6 billion dollars.

The estimates cover 2.260 million civilians deported from Poland to the 3rd Reich for slave labour, 400,000 POW's, 590,000 war and civilian invalids, 2.476 million people displaced from their households and farms and 3.577 million widows and orphans of victims in death camps.

Participants in the meeting adopted a resolution on establishing the "Polonia" Polish-American bank, a joint stock company to be set up by Poles here and abroad. The bank's organizing committee will work out its statute and goals. The bank will be founded in cooperation with the U.S. "Cortland Trust" of New Jersey and will finance some economic ventures in Poland. It will also carry out legal activities aimed to regain war damages for Polish nationals for the years 1939-1945 with the help of an American sponsor.

In their resolution sent to Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, participants in the meeting demanded that Poland be present when vital decisions on the future of Germany are taken.

"We stress that the full compensation of harms done to people by World War Two which was started by the German Reich is deemed by us as indispensable for a true Polish-German reconciliation and for the construction of a just moral order in Europe," the resolution reads.

Need for Secret Police in Democracy Questioned

AU0503075190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Feb 90 p 3

[Article by Adam Strug, member of the leadership of the "Democratic Center" party: "There Is No Room for the Security Service"]

[Text] The case of the Security Service [SB] and Civic Militia [MO] is not just a legal problem but a political one. The basic question is: Does Poland need the SB? Does preserving the SB help expand democracy? Does the SB's existence under its present name or any other name guarantee the security of citizens?

Each of these questions deserves a negative answer. Poland does not need the Security Service, which does not serve our young democracy at all, but actively interferes in it, and by its existence threatens the citizens instead of protecting them against anything. Although the SB has been offering some protection, this protection was only for the benefit of the old Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] nomenklatura, from which the SB stems and which it has always served. The SB was a pillar of the system that no longer exists. It should be abolished, not transformed, all the more so because attempts at transforming it merely display the bad will and insincerity of the "reformers." Transferring SB officers to the militia despite the objections of militiamen, burning documents, destroying evidence that could be useful in cases currently being examined by Sejm commissions, an absence of proper control over the reduction of the SB apparatus, and a lack of information on what is happening to the people dismissed from the SB—all this shows that the Pudysz [vice minister of internal affairs] reform is just an attempt to deceive people. How can one trust people responsible for the work of a service that was supposed to protect security if these people were incapable of solving hundreds, if not thousands, of political murders, and still keep using the phrase "unknown perpetrators"? Hardly anyone realizes that the victims of these murders always came from the same milieu. The silence of General Kiszczak, who is head of the ministry [of internal affairs] and participated in the Magdalenka talks, is also surprising.

There can be only one conclusion. The SB command wants to preserve its hold on the SB and continue to use it as an instrument of the hardliners who used to be in the PZPR. Today, the SB is a miserable combination of attempts by part of the old PZPR nomenklatura to retain their jobs, and of hopes that the SB might be preserved, just in case perstroyka fails.

The illustrious secret agreement of Magdalenka deserves separate attention. Only a few people in Poland, headed by Lech Wales and Czeslaw Kiszczak, know the contents of these talks. Even if these talks agreed that the SB should stay, they must have decided that it would undergo a radical reform. Who is breaking this agreement now? Is it not the former government-coalition side? And another question. Can Polish society, which gave no one the right to represent it at the "roundtable" talks, feel bound by these agreements?

The SB is finished. All that remains is to publicly explain the dark side of its work, reveal whether its officials at all levels carried out any other political murders apart from Father Jerzy Popieluszko, as society justifiably suspects it did, and place the perpetrators and planners of these crimes before a court.

In the opinion of the Democratic Center which I represent, that is how the SB should end. Its officials are not fit to serve in the administration of a democratic state. The new Sejm has already passed a constitutional amendment whereby Poland is a country ruled by law. Its offices should not be staffed by people who used to work for an institution that violated the law. Whether or not Poland needs an Office for the Protection of the State (protecting the constitution) is debatable. Even if it does, this office should certainly not be filled with former SB officials, but new people, even if they have to be specially trained.

The ranks of the MO now contain many officials who have convincingly dissociated themselves from the communist regime and intend to work as policemen. In the SB one sees neither a dissociation from the past, nor any serious attempt to explain the serious accusations, nor any desire to work in a normal profession.

Government Spokeswoman on Foreign Policy, Economy

LD0303000690 Warsaw PAP in English 2135 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 2—International policy and Poland's economic situation after two months the stabilization programme in operation were the main topics of a press conference held here today by Government Press Spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska.

Visit by Polish President and Premier to Paris

This one-day visit during which the Polish delegation will hold talks with French President Francois Mitterrand, Premier Michel Rocard and Foreign Minister Roland Dumas will be of significance in two aspects.

Discussions will focus on German unification and the issue of France's possible support for Poland's participation in the "two plus four" conference on issues concerning Poland's security and a treaty settlement, as Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki puts it, of the Odra and Nysa [Oder, Neisse] border. Poland will also seek support for her initiatives concerning the Council of European Cooperation.

Premier's visit to U.S. and Canada

An unofficial programme of the visit which will probably take place between March 20 and 27 provides for meetings with President Bush, Secretary of State Baker, the leadership of the House of Representatives and the Senate, businessmen, representatives of the Jewish-American congress and Poles living in the U.S.

Political talks will also focus on Germany's unification and the role played by the U.S. in the process as one of the four superpowers.

State of Polish-Israeli Relations

We count on economic cooperation and on increased tourist exchange as there are about 500,000 to 700,000 Jews of Polish origin living in Israel.

Talks With Bonn on German Issues

Minister Skubiszewski has recently talked with Minister Genscher who once again confirmed his open stand. As we know, there is maybe not fundamental but significant difference between the FDP and CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union] towards our proposals. Minister Genscher has said that further close contacts and consultations are necessary. I think that these consultations will be held with Minister Genscher and, perhaps, also with Chancellor Kohl, separately, Niezabitowska said.

Jobless in Poland

On February 28 there were 152,190 unemployed persons, including 7 thousand people who had lost their jobs in group dismissals. This is three times more than last January. The unemployment affects mainly white collars, youth, especially college and secondary school graduates as well as unskilled workers.

Changes in Territorial Division

In a situation connected with the creation of local self-governments a new administrative division of Poland will surely be necessary. Yet, it entails great expenses and the government thinks that in the current situation we cannot afford such a great administrative reform. The government thinks that certain changes in the territorial division can be introduced in three to four years' time.

Buying Out Land by Danes

We sell land to nobody, Niezabitowska stated. The law of 1920 which states that in every case when an alien wants to buy land in Poland he has to obtain a permission from the minister of internal affairs is still in force.

Chancellor Kohl's Approach to Polish Issue

It is hard to say which is worse: the fact that he is insincere or if he were very frank. A journalist can allow himself such deliberations. The government expects the chancellor to take a univocal clear stand. Saying one day something different than the next one is naturally somewhat disquieting to us, the spokeswoman said.

Poland's Stand on Middle East

Poland supports known U.N. resolutions and will try to cooperate in order to establish peace in the Middle East, Niezabitowska stated. We hope Arab countries will understand that and it will not cast a shadow on Poland's relations with those countries.

Vice-minister of Finance Wojciech Misiag, attending the conference, discussed some elements of the economic situation in Poland. He said in part:

Adoption of budget law

It marks the conclusion of a very long and stormy parliamentary debate. The budget law is slightly different from the government's draft. The changes are limited to the sum of 1.2 trillion zloties which makes less than 1 percent of the estimated budget expenditures.

The changes concern increase of expenditures for health protection, education and investments in environmental protection. Reduced are expenditures for salaries and by 5 percent material expenditures for administration.

Implementation of Government's Programmme

Weekly indices of price growth in February reach 1-2 percent. In the whole february the growth will total less than 10 percent. We see no reason why anything should radically change in March.

The distinct drop in production (by 10 percent in January) arouses numerous comments as a 5-percent drop was expected in the government programme. In the coming months we may and should expect growth of production.

Despite big growth of prices in Poland, the dollar exchange rate has been maintained for two months without the need of firmer invervention. Neither were the hard currency reserves affected.

Western Countries' Investments

We have no possibilities to influence the scope of investments of particular countries in Poland. We give no preferences to any state. We try to treat all proposals equally.

We do not envisage a situation in which, because of too great number of proposals, we would have to introduce some restrictions in order to maintain structures we consider optimal, Wojciech Misiag stated.

Solidarity, Government Meeting Reported

AU2202144790 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[Text] PAP—A meeting between the National Executive Commission of Solidarity and the government took place on 15 February, attended by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Chairman Lech Walesa. The Solidarity side submitted the following topics for discussion:

—The population's standard of living, especially the indexation of wages, the minimum level of wages, and the size of pensions;
—Protective measures while implementing the government stabilization program, including the law on collective redundancies and the powers of trade unions and workers councils;
—Accelerating political changes, especially the dissolution of the Security Service and personnel changes in local government bodies, prosecutor's offices, and fiscal offices;
—Amending the trade union law to include more professional groups entitled to form their own trade unions;
—The situation in workplaces, including the need to replace managers, counteract the nomenklatura, and prevent the misappropriation of national assets;
—Solidarity's claim to the assets it lost after 13 December 1981, and its claim to the assets paid for by all workers (the Workers Vacation Fund and rest homes).

The government said that it is making a constant effort to protect the standard of living of those in the weakest material situation.

The question of collective redundancies is being examined, and a report will be prepared by the end of March, with the possibility of legislative changes. The Solidarity side underlined the importance of such changes, warning that it would fight any redundancies that were not motivated by a desire to increase productivity.

The government side also reported a further acceleration of political reforms, including the abolition of the Security Service and fundamental local government changes, even before the local government elections. Nevertheless, it stressed that all activity must be carried out in accordance with the law.

As far as trade union assets are concerned, the government side asked the Solidarity side to draw up a list of specific problems and promised help in resolving them.

The government side also reported on changes to managerial posts inside workplaces and measures to prevent the misappropriation of national assets, especially cooperative assets. The Solidarity side said that these measures have been inadequate so far, and that the measures announced for the future are insufficient. The government also said that all information on this subject would be made public.

At the same time, the government side said that work on amending the trade union law in accordance with the wishes of trade unionists was in progress.

The question of privatization was also discussed, with the conclusion that it is essential to accelerate the demonopolization of the retail trade.

It was agreed that the next meeting should be devoted to problems concerning the standard of living, and should take place in the middle of March.

New Social-Democratic Party Formed in Silesia

AU2402213890 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 21 Feb 90 p 3

[Stanislaw Zielinski report: "The Social-Democratic Union of Silesia-Dabrowa Has Emerged"]

[Text] A regional meeting of the Social-Democratic Union of the Polish Republic, chaired by Tadeusz Fiszbach, took place in Katowice on Tuesday. The Social-Democratic Union of Silesia-Dabrowa was formed.

The hundred members of this new party, representatives of various cities in the region, decided to form it on the basis of an acceptance of the documents that had been placed before them, including the programmatic declaration of the founding body and the draft statute. The meeting also created a provisional regional council for this party.

"This is the first assembly of its kind in Poland, therefore I attach major importance to it," said Tadeusz Fiszbach. "The talks and numerous speeches have shown that valuable people are genuinely and sincerely devoted to the idea of establishing a credible movement which we would like to include in the state's sociopolitical structure. What has emerged and is taking shape is essential, so that the changes in Poland may occur smoothly and in the interests of the supreme value, which is the common welfare."

I asked Jacek Wodz, provisional chairman of the Social-Democratic Union of Silesia-Dabrowa, about the new party's attitude toward the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic.

He said that the social ideals of the left must be implemented through cooperation with its allies, including all left-wing parties, but without any of these allies losing their political identity.

The Social-Democratic Union of Silesia-Dabrowa has no assets of its own. Neither does it have a headquarters. But it does have a private telephone—that of its liaison officer, Jerzy Cieslak, telephone Katowice 521-979.

Further on Ceausescu Judge Suicide

AU0203183490 Paris AFP in English
1713 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, March 2 (AFP)—The judge who presided over the trial and execution of ousted Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife Elena committed suicide in a state of "serious depression" that was in no way related to his functions, Justice Minister Teofil Pop said here Friday.

General Georgica Popa shot himself once in the head in his office in the justice ministry Thursday, Mr. Pop said at a press conference. "His death was confirmed two hours later by a hospital," he added. Gen. Popa, 57, was president of the Bucharest military court since 1987.

The minister quoted Gen. Popa's wife as saying that he had been depressed due to family problems that dated back 10 years. He left a suicide note to his wife but failed to give a reason for his act, Mr. Pop said, adding however that the suicide was in no way related to the Ceausescu trial. The Ceausescus were found guilty of genocide at a secret trial on December 25 and executed by firing squad.

Giving for the first time details of the make-up of the special court which heard Elena and Nicolae Ceausescu, Mr. Pop said it comprised two military judges, three military junior barristers, a prosecutor and a court clerk. Earlier reports said the Ceausescus refused a defence attorney. Reliable sources said Gen. Popa was the chief judge at the trial. According to Mr. Pop, the composition of the court was not revealed earlier for security reasons.

General Ioan Nistor, the deputy president of the Bucharest military court, who was the other judge at the Ceausescu trial, was sitting next to Mr. Pop at the press conference.

Video footage of the trial and execution released by the authorities shows the Ceausescus but not the members of the court. Mr. Pop rejected rumours that a doctor seen on the video film as he was examining the Ceausescus had also committed suicide. Gen. Nistor and Gen. Popa were colonels at the time of the trial and were promoted a few days later, according to the minister.

Mr. Pop said the death sentences in the Ceausescu trial were not the first handed down by Gen. Popa. "He has already heard tough trials, this one was not the first," he said. Mr. Pop said Gen. Popa had not received any death threats.

Text of Sentence at Ceausescu's Trial Released

AU0203185490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1807 GMT 2 Mar 90

["Official Agenda: Sentence in the Trial Against Dictators Ceausescu Nicolae and Ceausescu Elena (I)"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/3/1990—"The Bucharest Territorial Military Tribunal, set up according to the Law of Juridical Organization No. 58/1968, as well as on the basis of the December 24, 1989 Resolution of the National Salvation Front Council," the sentence No. 1 of December 25, 1989 of the tribunal, released in Bucharest today, shows inter alia, "in the name of the law and with a unanimity of vote it sentences defendants Nicolae Ceausescu Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu to the capital punishment and confiscation of their entire wealth on the following counts:

—Genocide, provision in Article 357, Paragraph 1, Subparagraphs A - Criminal Code;
—Undermining of state power provision in Article 162, Paragraph 1 - Criminal Code;
—Acts of diversion provision in Article 163 - Criminal Code;
—Undermining of the national economy provision in Article 165 Paragraph 2 - Criminal Code, all according to Article 33-34 and 41 Paragraph 2 - Criminal Code.

On the basis of Article 998 - Civil Code and of Article 14 Paragraph 3, Subparagraph A - Criminal Procedure Code, the defendants are obliged to restitute to the Romanian state all the money, precious metals and other valuables they deposited, under any name, in foreign banks or other institutions or with individuals abroad or, according to Article 14 Paragraph 3 Subparagraph B - Criminal Procedure Code and Article 998 - Civil Code to pay to the state the equivalent of those assets in U.S. dollars.

According to Article 163 and Article 357 Paragraph 2 Subparagraph C - Criminal Procedure Code, the measures taken by the Military Procurator Bodies' Directorate are maintained in the case of all the assets belonging to the defendants.

Right of appeal granted.

Passed in an open-court session today, December 25, 1989, in the presence of the defendants, in the Tirgoviste Garrison.

Crimes 'Deliberately' Committed

AU0203215290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
2006 GMT 2 Mar 90

["Official Agenda: Sentence in the Trial Against Dictators Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu (II)"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/3/1990—The sentence No. 1 of the Bucharest Territorial Military Tribunal shows inter alia:

"...The tribunal notes that the two defendants deliberately committed all the deeds mentioned in the charge of the Military Procurator Bodies' Directorate. [no closing quotes as received]

From a juridical point of view all this makes up the constitutive elements of the offences of genocide, provision in Article 357, Paragraph 1, Subparagraphs A-C Criminal Code; undermining of state power, provision in Article 162, Paragraph 1 - Criminal Code; acts of diversion, provision in Article 163 - Criminal Code and undermining of the national economy, provision in Article 165, Paragraph 2 - Criminal Code, the sentence stipulated by the law for these offences being the same, namely capital punishment and confiscation of the entire wealth, or 15 to 20 years in prison, interdiction of rights and confiscation of the entire wealth.

In consideration of the continuous character of the defendants' deeds, in a real juncture of offences (Article 41, Paragraph 2 and Articles 33-34 Criminal Code), of their particularly serious consequences, which jeopardized the very existence of the Romanian people, the tribunal assesses that the sentence to be allotted to the defendants is capital punishment and confiscation of their entire wealth for each of the offences.

As by undermining the national economy the defendants gravely prejudiced the Romanian state, on the basis of Article 998 Civil Code, Article 14 and Article 17, Paragraph 1 and 3 - Criminal Procedure Code, they will be obliged to restitute to the Romanian state all the money, precious metals and any valuables they deposited, under any name, in foreign banks or other institutions, or with individuals abroad, or to pay their equivalent in U.S. dollars.

As other prejudices to the Romanian state or to any other person may be subsequently discovered, the victims will be reserved the right to distinct civil actions.

Likewise, to the end of ensuring the reparation of damage and the execution of the confiscation of wealth, on the basis of Article 998 - Civil Code and of Article 14 Paragraph 3, sub-paragraph A - Criminal Procedure Code, the court will dispose the maintenance of the measures set for this case by the Military Procurator's Office.

Further on Trial Sentence

AU0203220190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2033 GMT 2 Mar 90

["Official Agenda: Sentence in the Trial Against Dictators Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu (III)"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/3/1990—The sentence No. 1 of the Bucharest Territorial Military Tribunal shows inter alia:

Deliberating on the present case, on the basis of the documents and evidences of the file, the tribunal notes the following:

Defendants Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu, who held highly important offices on a state line, due to the revolution of 22 December 1989, abandoned them the same day leaving the capital city on board of a helicopter, obviously intending to fraudulently leave the country.

As a consequence, the National Salvation Front Council, whom the people entrusted with exercising the supreme power in state, dismissed them from all their offices, as it was noted that the two tyrants had worked, directly and deliberately, for the slow but sure destruction of the Romanian people and of the national minorities.

To accomplish their criminal activity, the defendants monopolized the political power, subjugating the entire state apparatus which they used to satisfy their mean interests and to repress the Romanian people.

Thus, taking advantage of the so-called scientific programme for the population's nutrition, they set measures of systematically starving the people, depriving them of the basic living conditions.

Concerned with the building of pharaonic edifices, the two megalomaniacs worked out and translated into fact programmes for the virtual liquidation of the country's towns and villages, under the reason of their redevelopment and a better comfort for the population.

To this end the defendants ordered and carried through the demolition of many historical vestiges of the Romanian people, of hundreds of thousands of houses, some of them genuine samples of the autochthonous architectural style, just as of numerous places of worship.

To materialize their aberrant plans, the two tyrants spent fabulous amounts of money (lei and hard currency), unjustifiably exhausting the country's riches, all the while the people had one of the lowest living standards in Europe (starved, without heat, without electricity and so forth).

Obsessed by fear of people, whom they hated, concomitantly with the dismemberment of the Romanian Army which they did not trust seeing it as the people's armed arm, the two dictators deliberately neglected to equip it with combat technique on a par with modern exigencies, depriving it of the possibility of training appropriately. At the same time, they used the military to fulfil tasks that where not of their competence.

The two defendants made sure they held on to power and consolidated their personal dictatorship, secretly recruiting and training military groups modernly equipped and highly skilled to use them in case of need against the Romanian people.

Such was the case of the peaceful demonstrations of the population in Timisoara, on December 16 and 17, in the capital city, and in Sibiu, where the dictator's order was to shoot at the demonstrators to destroy the communities of the respective localities.

The victorious December 22, 1989 revolution toppled the Ceausescu clan's dictatorship and put an end to the

genocide committed by mercenary and terrorist forces causing casualties counted in thousands.

In their mad fury against the Romanian people the defendants ordered the destruction of important cultural centres, such as the Central University Library, the National Art Museum and an important number of apartment buildings.

The two ignorant, snob tyrants adorned their numerous residences which they used as they would have their own property with valuable works of art and rare books taken away from the heritage of prestigious cultural institutions.

Discontented with the mere spoliation of the Romanian people and eager to amass unknown hard-currency reserves, the defendants abusively ordered that part of hard-currency earnings of the Romanian state or of Romanian enterprises and institutions, resulting from export-import and other operations, be deposited in foreign banks in their own or in other names.

It was through such illegal and discretionary actions that assets worth in excess of one billion U.S. dollars were taken away from the Romanian state's heritage, a damage that seriously disorganized the national economy, jeopardizing the very existence of the nation through the starvation of the people, the scarcity of regular medicines for the population, the lack of raw materials and of modern equipment, and others.

During the trial, the defendants not only questioned the legality of the tribunal but they also refused to answer most of the questions they were asked and when they accepted to answer they denied being involved in any of offences they were charged with, stating that everything was a frame which the people did not know anything about, a people that could fight to liquidate the authors of a state coup supported by foreign, Western and Eastern agencies.

The defendants' refuse to cooperate with the tribunal, as well as their total rejection of the counts on which they were charged are of no legal relevance as, on the one hand, the charges are confirmed by the acts and the evidence in the record (volume 1) and, on the other hand, their deeds were so notorious that, in line with criminal law principles, they no longer need to be proved. Such being the case, the tribunal notes that the two defendants deliberately committed all the offences mentioned in the indictment drawn by the military prosecutor directorate.

Additional Names of Tribunal Members Released

AU0203212290 Paris AFP in English
2006 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Bucharest, March 2 (AFP)—The judge who presided over the trial and execution of ousted Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife Elena committed suicide in a state of "serious depression" quite unrelated to his functions, Justice Minister Teofil Pop said here Friday.

General Georgica Popa shot himself once in the head in his office in the justice ministry Thursday, Mr. Pop said at a press conference. [passage omitted]

In addition to Gen. Popa, the tribunal comprised a vice-president, Colonel Ioan Nistor, who has since been promoted to general, and three "people's military assessors", named as Captain Corneliu Sorescu, Lieutenant-Major Daniel Condrea and Lieutenant Ion Zamfir. The military prosecutor was Major Dan Voinea and the clerk of the court was Major Jan Tanasa. The verdict was signed by two barristers from Bucharest assigned for the defence, Nicolae Teodorescu and Constantin Lucescu.

The trial took place "in public session in the presence of the accused at the garrison of Torgoviste", 80 kilometres (50 miles) northwest of Bucharest, the text said. [passage omitted]

Justice Minister on Tribunal Members

AU0303170090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1552 GMT 3 Mar 90

["Statement by the Minister of Justice"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/3/1990—The suicide of General Gica Popa, presiding judge of the extraordinary military tribunal that tried and sentenced the Ceausescus was not caused by remorses or complexes but by a nervous breakdown, stated Teofil Pop, minister of justice, during a news conference. As a matter of fact, he had such a depression 8-10 years ago no one knew about and about which we learned from his family, the minister of justice went on. He specified that the rumours that other members of the panel of judges were killed or were missing were groundless and false. Both the assessors and the clerk are alive and nothing has happened to them. Only one of the counsels for the defence was hurt while driving his car on 27 or 28 December because he refused to stop at a check point on one of the Bucharest streets. Nothing has happened to the doctor who checked up the dictator before the trial, Mr Teofil Pop also said.

Genocide Trial Over Dec Events Opens

AU0203103990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0912 GMT 2 Mar 90

["Trial in Timisoara"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/3/1990—The public trial of persons associated with the perpetration of the crime of genocide and with abetting genocide started on Friday, March 2 in the martyr city of Timisoara. The charges against the defendants are that during the events that started in that city on December 16, 1989 they fired at unarmed demonstrators, continued the street fighting also after dictator Ceausescu was overthrown, shooting

some 100 to their death. More than 300 wounded and numerous missing were also reported. Some of the defendants were also involved in secreting away more than 40 bodies from the Timisoara County Hospital, in their transport and secret cremation at the Bucharest Crematory.

The trial is watched by almost 100 foreign journalists and numerous Romanian journalists.

Trial To Continue

AU0203174490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1720 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/3/1990—As already reported, the public trial of the 21 persons that stand charges of abetting genocide and favouring genocide as well as other offences started in the martyr city of Timisoara on March 2.

The defendants were identified in the Friday meeting. The bill of indictment addressed to the Supreme Court of Justice, Military Department, was also read out.

The trial will continue Saturday, March 3, with the defendants' examination.

Army Implicated in Timisoara Crackdown

AU0203182890 Paris AFP in English 1657 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Timisoara, Romania, March 2 (AFP)—Heads shaved, wearing convict's stripes, 21 former secret police and militia officers appeared in court Friday to face charges of "complicity in genocide" in putting down protests here in December.

The trial is the first of members of the security forces involved in the bloody crackdown on anti-government protests, which began in this city on December 17 and led to the ouster of Nicolae Ceausescu five days later. The 21 have been accused of "complicity in genocide" for ordering troops to shoot at demonstrators, for brutally questioning prisoners, and for disposing of bodies and documents, prosecutor Colonel Vasile Cosma said. The long-awaited trial, which has been delayed twice since mid-January, is being held in the assembly hall of a heavily guarded youth center here and televised live. It recessed Friday after the charges were read and is to resume Saturday.

A dozen tanks were deployed outside the centre and 100 soldiers and sharpshooters massed in adjacent streets and on roofs.

Among those in the dock is General Emil Macri, a counter-espionage officer in the Securitate, the now-disbanded secret police force of Mr. Ceausescu, who was executed along with his wife Elena on December 25. Eleven colonels in the Securitate and militia are also on trial here. Gen. Macri is the principal defendant following the deaths in detention of the two generals, Constantin Nunta and Mihalea Velicu, charged by Mr. Ceausescu with putting down the uprising which began in Timisoara.

The chief judge in the military tribunal, Colonel Cornel Badoiu, said Friday that 98 people were killed, 300 wounded and 23 missing after troops opened fire on demonstrators in Timisoara. Prosecutors also said that Gen. Macri and a colonel in the militia, Nicolae Chircoias, were responsible for the "theft" of 40 bodies from the morgue of a Timisoara hospital in an attempt to "wipe out the traces of genocide." The 40 corpses were allegedly transported in a refrigerated truck to a crematorium in Bucharest, where they were burned and the ashes dumped in a canal, they said. The operation was allegedly directed by Gen. Macri and two militia officers also facing trial, Ioan Cordodeanu, a colonel, and Valentin Ciuca, a captain.

To put down the revolt here, a special force was set up under the control of the ministry of the interior with eight operational units charged with duties such as repression, provocation and intelligence, identifying protest leaders and other activities, prosecutors said. The role of the army in putting down the uprising was not raised during the first day of the trial, with mention only being made of Securitate and militia troops fetching ammunition from military arsenals. But reliable sources said the court is expected to call to the witness stand several army officers accused of ordering their troops to fire into the crowds. These would be the first direct accusations that the army played a part in the crackdown on the demonstrations in Timisoara. Soldiers later played a key role in battling members of the Securitate and bringing about Mr. Ceausescu's ouster.

An 11-member governmental commission made up of officials from Bucharest and Timisoara has begun an investigation into whether the army was involved in the repression here. For many residents of this city, however, there is absolutely no doubt that the army opened fire on the people.

The defendents appeared in court Friday with shaved heads and wearing their striped prison garb.

There were many empty places in the 500-seat improvised courtroom, and the streets outside were virtually deserted as people stayed at home to watch the live broadcast of the proceedings on television.

Gen Macri Interrogated at Timisoara Trial

AU0303194390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1830 GMT 3 Mar 90

["The Trial of Timisoara"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/3/1990—The trial of the 21 persons charged with genocide, abetting of genocide and other offences continued in Timisoara. On the second day of the trial the defendants started being heard. Defendant Emil Macri, former security Major

General and head of the Counterintelligence Directorate of the State Security Department was heard first.

According to the bill of indictment he is charged with gathering information from the places where demonstrations were held, from economic units and private homes by sending security staff among the demonstrators, cutting off local, long-distance and international telephone lines, listening to telephone calls, shadowing, bugging private homes and economic units, violating correspondence and so forth. He also isolated the population barring the main streets of the town, agreed to the arming of the security and militia bodies with weapons and live ammunition, approved, on 18 December, the map of the distribution of the militia, security and frontier guards to eight dispositions in various parts of the town, took part in the theft of 40 corpses from the Timis County Hospital, to their transport and illegal incineration at the human crematorium in Bucharest.

This second session confirmed the particularly difficult character of the case which results from the complexity and multitude of the deeds and, last but not least, from the slyness and qualification of those brought to trial, given the positions they held in the dictator's defence system.

The trial was adjourned until Monday, 5 March, at 09.00 hours.

Resurgence of Iron Guards Seen in Bacau County

AU0403155490 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 23 Feb 90 p 1

[Gheorghe Ionita article: "Are the Iron Guards Waking Up?"]

[Text] A number of alarming events, especially burglaries, thefts, and attacks on people, have taken place in Bacau in the past few days. From a discussion with Colonel Gheorghita Toader, chief of the Bacau County police, we learned that the newspaper DESTEPTAREA has received the following letter: "The armed anticommunist organization, the Iron Guards, the legion of the Archangel Michael, is being set up again after 45 years. The Iron Guards will fight against all those who advocate any leftist ideology. We will not stop unless we have eliminated all Communists, socialists, and other leftist monsters. Our secret is force. You, the newspaper DESTEPTAREA announce that we have been created again; if you refuse to do so we will view you as the successors of the deceased "Red Flag." One day we will get you. Finally, our time has also come. The country will be ours once again. Heil Hitler! We will win!"

Each of the four corners of the text carries the symbol of sad remembrances—the swastika. We have learned that there are actions toward the revival of this organization in other localities in the same county and in some adjacent counties. As far as the newspaper DESTEPTAREA is concerned, which published this letter on 21 February 1990, the Bacau police have taken measures to ensure the security of editors and of the institution itself.

Lenin's Statue in Bucharest To Be Pulled Down

AU0303141490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1134 GMT 3 Mar 90

["The Crane Has Come"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/3/1990—At this very moment, in the presence of several hundred people, a high-capacity crane has approached Lenin's monument located in the Free Press Square of Bucharest.

We recall that in yesterday's PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] session, its president, Ion Iliescu, told the Council members about the proposal of the National Salvation Front political movement to pull down this monument. The proposal was greeted with thunderous applause, from the press quarters included.

Statue Dismantled

AU0503101690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0917 GMT 5 Mar 90

["Lenin Is Leaving..."—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/3/1990—Today at 10.25 hours [0825 GMT] Lenin's statue was finally moved from its marble base in Bucharest's Free Press Square. The monument which was made by sculptor Boris Caragea and installed three decades ago in 1960, was pulled down by a Demag [as received] 120 crane under the eyes of hundreds of Bucharesters.

Workers started to hammer away the statue at midday Saturday carefully using blow torches and a drill so as not to damage the pink marble base.

Lenin's departure from the Free Press Square is in fulfilment of the national will and in compliance with Friday's PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] decision.

Parties With Observer Status Threaten Boycott

AU0203203690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1747 GMT 2 Mar 90

["PNUC Session"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/3/1990—Despite extensive, contradictory talks, during which taking the floor were also the representatives of all the 12 political parties and groupings created after February 1, 1990—which now attend the proceedings of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] as observers—their claims to take part in the new legislative body and state power were not satisfied.

At the end of the talks the status of observer of these newly-created political parties and groupings was adopted with an overwhelming majority of votes. That

status ensures their right to attend PNUC sessions as observers and to express their opinions on the major problems related to the country's political and social life in writing form.

As an outcome of the failure to include them in the composition of the Provisional National Unity Council, representatives of the political parties and groupings with the status of observers stated their intention to boycott the proceedings of the Council and to create an opposition alliance.

While the youth were the fist that struck during the revolution now they have turned into the mind that thinks, said the representative of the National Youth League of Romania, justifying the emergence of this grouping and its wish to sent its representatives to the PNUC as observers. Although he specified that the League had no political ambitions, the speaker was more than once interrupted which made PNUC President Ion Iliescu break in. Democracy means tolerance, means the power to listen to opinions others than those we like, he said. Mr. Iliescu pleaded for the firm establishment of an atmosphere of calm, mutual respect and real democracy which should govern the Council's debates.

As the status of observer for the 22 parties legally registered after the creation of the Provisional National Unity Council does not allow of the representatives of the respective parties to express their opinions during the debates conducted in the sessions of that forum, they agreed on the need to set up an alliance to obtain equal rights with the other parties represented to the PNUC.

Mr. Nicolae Vezure, vice-president of the Labour and Social Justice Party, and Mr. Marin Nisipeanu, president of the Modern Democracy Movement suggested that "all sessions should be boycotted and an alliance should be created so that all these parties may enter the May 20 elections as a bloc."

In his turn, Mr. Adrian Cuc, president of the Democratic Ecologist Party, said that "from a legal point of view, this Council cannot operate without our presence. A human right is being violated."

"We will try to support our views through dialogue. Let us make them receive us in the Provisional National Unity Council on the same terms the other parties were included," said Mr. Gheorghe Popileanu, president of the Christian Republic Party.

"I am indignant over our impossibility to have our say in this council. We are a nationality, the nationality of the Romanies. We represent them and we want to have the rights every average citizen does," said Mr. Octavian Stoica, president of the Democratic Unity Party of the Romanies, Fiddlers and Wood Workers of Romania.

* Interview With Ceausescu's Sister Marioara

90EB0291B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 16 Feb 90 p 2

[Interview with Marioara Ceausescu by Emil Munteanu, place and date not given: "Miz Marioara, Also Known as Rita, the Dictator's Sister, Opens her Heart"; first and last paragraphs are ROMANIA LIBERA remarks]

[Text] I must begin with a personal confession. As I saw her approaching, I had an unpleasant sensation. She looked so much like "the most beloved" brother, that for a split second I was expecting a... guideline. You may recall that Miz Marioara was the heroine of our article "The Dictator's Poor Relations." The owner of a "little villa" in the Ghencea district, an influential figure of the underworld, ceausescu [as published] follower, possessor of a 4th grade diploma, and foreman at the Electromagnetica enterprise, she, Rita, rose up from "nothing," through her own talents, disowning her family. And the other way round. Her language is very colorful because, as everyone knows, Ghencea is not exactly a noble neighborhood, and she is not one to worry about her vocabulary.

[Marioara] I left home when I was about 24. Barefoot. My elder sister was the first one to come to Bucharest. She went as an apprentice to a shoemaker. Nicolae ran away from home at about 14. They sent him back with police escort, but he didn't want to stay. After two weeks, father sold a goat, gave him travel money, and we never heard of him again until he was in jail.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Why did you all leave Scornicesti? Didn't you have land?
[Marioara] We were poor, Mister. Father was not very keen on working. He drank.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] And your brother went into shoemaking, too?
[Marioara] Nonsense. He joined some other bums and went around sticking up posters. He was driven... That's how he met the beast, may she burn in hell!

[ROMANIA LIBERA] She was a revolutionary, too?
[Marioara] Leana?! A good for nothing. While he was at Doftana [jail] she was running around with Germans, partying at Sebastian, and... so it went. My older sister put together parcels for Nicolae, and she took them to him, and that's how they stayed together. To this day I don't know whether they were ever married legally. As soon as he became head of state, no one was good enough for her anymore.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] But you were family...
[Marioara] The witch couldn't stand us. She stuck mother and father in the geriatrics at Otopeni. At Primaveri there was no room for them. Because of her! I had a problem with my daughter. My son-in-law was in Rosiori and was dying to come to Bucharest. I went to Iosif Banc, like any person in the street, but he didn't help me. Instead, he told on me, so all of a sudden I get a call: 'Comrade Rita, you are summoned to Primaveri.'

First she started on me. Then he: 'You damn bitch, how dare you embarrass me?' He kicked me so hard, I was floored. I threatened to complain about him to the Russian Embassy, to our parents. But what could anyone do, she had him under her thumb.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] I understand that you were completely alienated from the presidential family.

[Marioara] I never wanted to set eyes on them again. But she followed us, all of us, everywhere. She sent Neagoe (former General Neagoe) to give me a house so that I would leave my Nicu, saying he was a drunkard and was badmouthing his brother-in-law. But I wouldn't. She was so mad, she was foaming at the mouth. She got him arrested and put on trial by a military tribunal. Since they didn't find him guilty, I put him in Hospital No. 9 on drugs.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] But in the end you were still divorced.

[Marioara] How else was I to be rid of them? But you should have heard my brother Nicolae, the one who was general, he said I went back to being a virgin so I could be called ceausescu; so I got mad and remarried my husband. So again the 'boss' called me to the palace, danced with me, said he shouldn't be talking to me at all, but he was like that, forgiving. She butted in again with her scolding, so I couldn't take it anymore. I shouted what the hussy was doing with the Germans while he was in jail...

[ROMANIA LIBERA] That would have been cause for divorce, right?

[Marioara] He was a dishrag, Mister. He was so good, he died ignorant. I think she charmed him, you know, put a spell on him, otherwise he couldn't have been so blinded. You tell me, who would have let a cretin like her lead the country? I'll be damned if she knew the multiplication table.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] How did she treat your other brothers?
[Marioara] No one could see him at home because of her. She ruled our lives. Neagoe came, made me a party member, from the underground, placed me at Electromagnetica, got me into the Committee, but I never had anything to do with politics. Last year I gathered my courage and went to my brother-in-law Lica at Primaveri. He was cross because the peasants weren't working. 'Why should they,' I said, 'Don't you see they're so poor they have nothing to drink water out of? You broke them. Have you forgotten that you were a peasant, too?' That's what I told him.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] In a way, that was politics, too...
[Marioara] As you like. I was inspired at the time. I said: 'Lica, you watch and see, if we all don't fall my name isn't Rita. I know what's in store for us.' And only because of her, may she burn in hell!

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Your prediction came true. You know what happened?
[Marioara] How would I not. The boys at the arrest give me newspapers. I didn't shed a tear for him. For her I have nothing but curses for as long as I live. What shall I tell you, I like the revolution. It gave me freedom...

Perhaps. If that's what the court will decide, which is hard to believe. Miz Rita is a picturesque character. She has the same facial expressions and habits as the "boss." Like the habit of grabbing. Ghencea was her parish, and the "faithful" (first secretaries, militia men, and black marketeers) were treated properly, at a price, of course. Each according to his purse. Once the investigation is concluded we will come back to the millionairess of 28, Mos Adam St.

Protests in Kosovo, SAWP Branches Dissolved

AU0403210290

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 4 March carries in its extended 45-minute newscast a total of 12 minutes of reports on various "gatherings in various parts of Kosovo at which citizens voiced their discontent over the situation that has arisen in the province." Reception is poor to indistinct. A telephone report from an indistinct locality reports citizens "protesting against the behavior of the joint militia unit." A report from Gnjilane cites a gathering making a similar protest, at which participants are reported as saying that "Serbs and Montenegrins have no need to protect themselves against their fellow-citizens." A gathering of "about 300 citizens" is reported from a village near Podujevo, at which participants said "they had always been for brotherhood and unity," and "wondered how it is possible for calls for arms against the Albanians to be issued at rallies, and for nobody in the Kosovo, Serbia, or Yugoslav leadership to protest." The report states that participants protested that "The League of Communists of Yugoslavia has lost touch with the people," and condemned "political show trials."

A gathering in the village of Gornje Prekaze, Srbica Commune, is reported as "expressing its disgust at the discrimination against the Albanian populace and the failure to meet the students' demands." Participants are also reported to have "demanded lifting the emergency measures in Kosovo and the curfew, that 28 March should not be declared a public holiday in Serbia, and that pupils and students should not be segregated according to nationality. They also made the decision, as of today, to leave the Socialist Alliance, and to join the recently-founded Democratic Peasants Party, for which the appropriate committees were formed."

An indistinct report from Titova Mitrovica states that "About (?100,000) people from throughout the province attended the funeral today of the 18-year-old [name indistinct] who died from injuries sustained on 25 February when he was run over by a militia unit vehicle. The funeral oration condemned violence and protested the mistreatment of the Albanian populace in Kosovo."

A report from the village of Drenovac, Malisevo Commune, reports the village's decision "to dissolve the branch of the Socialist Alliance and join the Kosovo Democratic Alliance" because "the Socialist Alliance has lost its ties with the base." Inhabitants of an indistinct village near Kamenica are reported as taking the same step, while the local Youth Federation is reported as "dissolving its branch and joining the Alliance of Democratic Youth."

Roundup of Kosovo Situation 2 Mar

LD0203221790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2105 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Pristina, March 2 (TANJUG)—President of the Socialist Alliance of Kosovo Zivorad Igic said here today that the alternative groups in Kosovo "act as a political commissariat of counterrevolution in the province."

Ibrahim Rugova, president of one of the alternative organizations, the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, demanded at a press conference today the holding of free elections in the province, which is part of the Republic of Serbia, and an end to one-party rule. Rugova demanded that his organization, which he claims has over 300,000 members, be granted a freer access to the media, especially in Kosovo.

A curfew is still in force in the province. Ethnic Albanians did not show up at a factory in Urosevac, while Kisnica and Novo Brdo mines are operating at lower capacity because of the absence of ethnic Albanian miners. Ethnic Albanian secondary school students are still boycotting classes in Lipljan and Suva Reka, while classes with the instruction in Serbo-Croatian have not yet resumed at secondary schools in Pristina.

The teaching staff of the Pristina University today appealed to all students and professors to comply with the obligation of regular instruction, warning that a failure to do so might lead to non-recognition of the school year 1989-1990.

A reaction to events in Kosovo came today from Bosnia-Hercegovina, where the youth forum—still acting as the initiating committee for a new independent political organization of young people in the republic—demanded that the federal government committee entrusted with investigating the cases of overstepping and abuse of power by some members of the federal police force in Kosovo submit its report by April 1. Unless this was done, the forum said, it would launch an initiative for withdrawing Bosnia-Hercegovina's contingent from the force.

The Greenpeace Forum of the republic of Croatia put forward a series of demands in Zagreb today. The most important among these was the one for ensuring a democratic and peaceful settlement of the crisis in Kosovo, which, the forum said, implied an end to state violence and to the violations of human rights and freedoms.

Kosovo Parties' Activities, Views Noted

Democrats Want LC Groups Disbanded

AU0203202890 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] The Kosovo Democratic League has called for the disbandment of the League of Communists [LC] organizations in factories and institutions. The representatives of the League held a press conference today, which for the first time was also attended by its president, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova. They also demanded the disbandment of the people's general defense and social self- protection committees, which they consider to be a form of repression against the workers. The League's representatives

said that they are unable to keep close and more frequent contacts with their members because they are denied access to places where they could meet and because of the official attitude toward the League.

Ibrahim Rugova reiterated the Kosovar alternative's criticism of the authorities, stressing that the mistreatment of people by militia members, particularly in schools, continues despite the fact that there have been no recent demonstrations in the streets. Answering a question about his recent visits to a number of European countries, Ibrahim Rugova stated that, together with Shkelzen Malici, he was a guest of the Helsinki Federation, which also paid for their travel and stay in various places. He said that he met with members of this association, writers, and leaders of various European political parties and that he held conferences in Vienna and Oslo about the social, cultural, and political situation in Kosovo.

Together with members of the Yugoslav alternative, Ibrahim Rugova met Lawrence Eagleburger, assistant U.S. secretary of state, in Belgrade. Together with [name indistinct] he briefed Eagleburger on the situation in Kosovo. According to Ibrahim Rugova, the assistant U.S. secretary of state was interested in finding out what progress has been made in Yugoslavia in the direction of political pluralism and democracy. He also confirmed that Veton Surroi, president of the Union for a Democratic Initiative in Yugoslavia, also talked with the Spanish Foreign Minister Fernandez-Ordonez, but added that he did not know what they talked about. Ibrahim Rugova denied having contacts with Adem Demaci, the separatist leader. He added that his party is in favor of resolving the problems in a peaceful manner and of expressing discontent peacefully.

The representatives of the Kosovo Democratic League stated that at the moment the League has some 300,000 members, including a number in Zagreb and Ljubljana.

Democratic Alliance Official on Concerns

LD1102030890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2049 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 10 February (TANJUG)—Social policy in Kosovo, this province's economic development, human rights, and intellectual freedoms, Kosovo's position in the new Constitution, and ecological questions are the basic starting points of "the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo," about which "Alliance" President Ibrahim Rugova spoke this evening in the Cankar Center in Ljubljana. The talks, at which about 200 people were present were organized by the Slovene youth organization, at whose invitation Rugova was staying in Ljubljana.

Presenting the guest, the president of "the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation-Liberal Party," as the Slovene youth organization is now called, Jozef Skolje said ironically that this is one of the biggest terrorists [as heard]. According to him, the "Democratic Alliance of Kosovo" number over 200,000 members, and a branch of this alliance was also founded in Ljubljana today.

Speaking about the Alliance program Rugova stressed it is a pragmatic and not an ideological program which, in fact, represents the first step of pluralism in Kosovo.

Replying to questions, Rugova said the Kosovo authorities are reacting sharply to the whole alternative [movement], and also to any different opinion. In this context he referred to the threat that the "Alliance" could be banned. He did not exclude the possibility that he himself might be arrested, in view of the fact, he said, that he has been threatened with imprisonment for a year now. [passage omitted: economic development is the only solution to the demographic problem in Kosovo; aspirations towards secession are a last resort, says Rugova]

Democratic Alliance News Conference

LD1702162190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1125 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—The leadership of the alternative organisation, the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, at a press conference today welcomed the European Parliament's resolution on Kosovo, describing it as realistic and encouraging for the democratic forces in the province.

In a public statement representatives of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo assessed that the stances of the SFRY Presidency give impetus to the processes of solving the Kosovo crisis but add that there apparently exist "forces which are interested in maintaining the tension in Kosovo and which are succeeding in blocking any successful initiative to resolve the existing problems." The leadership of the so-called Democratic Alliance implicity include in these forces the leadership in Kosovo and in the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

Democratic Alliance Forms Pec Branch

AU2401140490 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 20 Jan 90 p 18

[N.S. report: "Kosovo Democratic Alliance Forms Branch"]

[Text] Pec, 19 Jan—The Pec branch of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance was formed yesterday evening by health service workers, teachers, skilled workers, and intellectuals in Pec Comune.

Alliance Chairman Dr Ibrahim Rugova greeted those present and told them about the organization's activities. More than 2,000 members have so far joined in Pec Commune. The meeting elected a Presidium of nine and a branch chairman and secretary.

Democratic Alliance Forms More Branches

AU3001123490 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 23 Jan 90 p 8

[Unattributed report: "Initiating Councils of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance Founded"]

[Text] Initiating Councils of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance were founded yesterday in Orahovac and Kamenica. In Orahovac, 3,800 members joined, and 700 joined in Kamenica.

The Kosovo Democratic Alliance informs its members in Podujevo Commune that the branch's founding assembly, planned for 1200 on Wednesday, 24 January, has been postponed to a later date because the necessary preparations have not been completed.

200,000 Support Alternative Group

AU1002171190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report from Pristina]

[Text] The Kosovo united alternative groups today again drew attention to their presence on the province's political scene. The leaders of the alternative movements—the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, the Democratic Party, and the Society of Philosophers and Sociologists—announced at a press conference that 32 people were killed in the Kosovo riots and 142 were wounded. The alternative groups assert that the number of missing persons is considerable. To remind you: it has been officially stated that 26 persons were killed.

Journalists were informed that the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, led by Ibrahim Rugova, has 200,000 members. It is asserted that they include over 1,000 Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, Romanies, and Turks. Especially large numbers of Muslims from all over the country express their desire to join Ibrahim Rugova's party.

It was said today that the authorities on the whole are adopting a correct attitude toward this party. The alternative groups assert that the declaration For Democracy and Against Violence has been signed by over 400,000 people in Kosovo so far.

The alternative groups today repeated their accusations against the Serbian authorities and the press, as well as against the security services members. They assert that these exploit the present tragic events for making the position of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo an instrument in preserving national bolshevism and preventing democratic changes. The alternative groups appeal to all Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo not to accept this manipulation—as they put it—and, united on a democratic platform, to oppose violence, revenge, and war.

The leaders of the alternative movements request that the Kosovo authorities every day publicly announce the number of those arrested and those punished for their participation in the demonstrations. They also propose that the beginning of the second term in the province's schools be postponed until 19 February because, as they say, the authorities' present attitude does not guarantee security for the Albanians.

In conclusion, some impressions from this gathering: Undoubtedly, the Kosovo alternative groups have penetrated all the secrets of political public relations, and for weeks they have been preaching to the official forums as well as to the provincial Secretariat for Information. However, even today they fail to denounce the terrorism of Albanian separatists. On the contrary, they assert that the authorities are leading the province into a civil war.

An initiative committee was formed in Pristina today to set up a Social Democratic Party. This party will advocate the abolition of all political and party monopolies, and will support multiparty parliamentary-type democracy. We have learned that Azem Vlasi, former president of Kosovo Communists, and several others accused of organizing Albanian strikes and demonstrations have expressed their wish to join the Social Democratic Party of Kosovo.

Political Parties, Associations Formed

LD1102002590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1940 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, Feb 10 (TANJUG)—In Pristina, the capital of the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo, the foundation of the Kosovo Social Democratic Party was announced today. The party would invest efforts towards a democratic solution of constitutional disputes over Kosovo's status based on what the people of Kosovo declares for.

Kosovo is an autonomous province of the republic of Serbia.

The party would rally all those who have not abandoned the idea of socialism and whose slogan is socialism plus democracy. The party would uphold full national equality, accompanied by firm institutional guarantees to minority rights.

At the economic level the party will be market oriented. The foundation of the party is announced for next week.

A Democratic Alliance of Kosovo has also announced the formation of a political party. Its founders claim to have 200 thousand members among whom about one thousand Muslims and Turks. The formation of a Radical Party and the Parliament of the Kosovo Youth have also been announced in Kosovo.

A branch of the Yugoslav Association for Democratic Initiative and the Human Rights Committee already exists in Kosovo. Their members are mostly ethnic

Albanians. A Committee for Truth About Kosovo and the Association for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins—Bozur also function in Kosovo. Their members are mostly Serbs and Montenegrins. They all claim that they are not parties and that they do not have ambitions to win power.

Some 70 various parties, associations and committees have been formed so far in Yugosalvia. Majority have national programs, while minority are Yugoslav oriented.

Polje Serb Association Makes Demands

AU1002184990 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Radovan Pantovic report from Pristina]

[Text] The annual general meeting of the Peony Association for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo was held in Kosovo Polje today. Several hundred members and guests and some 50 delegations from other towns were present. The gathering was opened by Bogdan Kecman, and Sreten Martinovic reported on past work.

With the association's help, some 200 individuals and some 20 families have returned to Kosovo. The association will continue to work in spreading the truth about Kosovo in the country as well as abroad, the report says.

The general meeting adopted a work program and sent requests to Serbia and Yugoslavia. It insisted on the urgent provision of legal, property, and political security in the republic's entire territory. By 20 February, a commission should be set up in the Assembly of Serbia to directly follow the situation in Kosovo and undertake the necessary measures. It is requested that all the communes in Serbia draw up lists of people who wish to live in Kosovo, and that all those emigrants who have been compromised or have not obtained Yugoslav citizenship should be expelled.

One demands the annulment of all illegal property sale contracts and the return of property to the owners. One also demands that the full name Kosovo-Metohija be returned to the province, that the Serbian Renaissance Loan be continued as a loan for the return of Serbs and Montenegrins, that ideopolitical differentiation be intensified, and at least 10,000 students from Serbia should enroll in colleges in Kosovo.

It is demanded that the Medical School be transferred from Sremska Kamenica to Djakovica, that a military hospital be built in Pec, and that some departments of the Serbian Academy of Science be transferred to Prizren. It is finally demanded that a settlement for 20,000 Yugoslavs be built at Drenica, the center of the ethnically pure region.

In addition to numerous delegations, the general meeting was also attended by representatives of republican and provincial sociopolitical organizations Zivorad Igic, Momcilo Trajkovic, and others.

'Youth Parliament' Founded

LD1602164490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1318 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—A Youth Parliament of Kosovo has been formed in Pristina. The founding assembly, held late last night, was attended by about 300 young people aged between 16 and 30.

In a public announcement proclaiming the Youth Parliament, it is stated that the young people "want a law-governed state, a civilian society, a multiparty political system, and free parliamentary elections". In short, they say, they want "a decent life."

The "parliamentarians" assess that in Yugoslavia "the ideology of a single political path is on the way out, having led to chaos and totalitarian political control over the civilian population it has experienced its historical downfall."

They cite Kosovo as the most representative example of "this ideology," where the party allegedly has absolute monopoly over all spheres of life and where those who dare to oppose it lose their civil rights as a consequence.

Belgrade Group Backs Kosovo Alternative Groups

AU1502123590 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 11 Feb 90 p 3

[E.B. report: "New Publicity Offensive"]

[Text] At yesterday's press conference held jointly by the Council for Human Rights, the Kosovo Democratic Alliance, the Pristina Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, the incipient Youth Parliament, and the Philosophers Association, the many participants, including correspondents of world news agencies, heard much opposition to and various facts about events in Kosovo. For example, Zekeria Cana said that 32 people had lost their lives in recent events in Kosovo, while 142 were wounded by gunshots. Mistreatment by the security services was also mentioned. A new question was also raised concerning the disappearance of "a number of persons." Zekeria Cana, in the name of the Council for Human Rights, mentioned the inhuman and brutal behavior of some members of the security organs and the joint militia unit.

He also criticized the state authorities for their delay in officially reporting now-familiar problems and incidents, such as the Malisevo case and others. He said that the council will shortly produce new data about citizens deprived of their freedom, prison sentences delivered in contravention of the law, and other matters. He then rejected the many accusations leveled against the work of the Council for Human Rights and said that this council will protect all people from injustice and will examine any killing or other breach of human rights, regardless of

the nationality of those whose rights are violated. The case of Afrim Haxhiagiq's assault on Radisav Andjelkovic was added to the data on the victims during and after recent events.

Jusuf Buxhovi spoke in the name of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance. He pointed out that the Alliance has more than 200,000 members, of whom, he said, more than 1,000 are Serbs, Montenegrins, Croats, Turks, Romany Gypsies, and others. As for the official legal authorities' attitude toward the Alliance, Jusuf Buxhovi said that "they have so far behaved correctly," with the exception of certain cases in which the official authorities, meaning certain members of the joint militia unit, had mistreated and even imprisoned some members of branches of the Alliance in Prizren and Kamenica, where two members were jailed.

Veton Surroi, chairman of the Pristina Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, emphasized that more than 400,000 people had so far signed the declaration "For democracy, against violence," and that its contents had won the agreement and support of many democratic organizations and associations throughout the country, while support is also coming from other countries. As Veton Surroi said, certain forces are trying to depict virtually all the demands from Kosovo for parliamentary democracy as a coordinated effort between the separatists and the declaration's organizers and signatories. It is as if a repetition of the tragic events in Kosovo suited someone's purpose, he stressed, adding that such a conclusion can be drawn from the silence of official bodies and their delay in issuing official statements and assessments. Isuf Berisha, chairman of the Philosophers Association here, said that the Albanians have nothing against the Serbs and Montenegrins, but are against obstacles to democracy. Isuf Berisha therefore invited all citizens, especially Serbs and Montenegrins, to join them in their sincere demands for democracy and not to allow themselves to be manipulated by those who are against it.

The members of the Kosovo alternative movements at yesterday's news conference called for a postponement of the start of the school semester because of the impossibility of guaranteeing the safety of Kosovar families, even from the security organs themselves.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Belgrade Alternative Supporters Also for Democracy

The representatives of the Kosovo alternative movements, journalists, and other guests present welcomed with applause the recently arrived statement, "Against violence, and for peace and democracy in Kosovo" sent by a Belgrade group for peace and democracy. Among other things, the document calls for the Yugoslav and Serbian alternative movements to be allowed to intervene between the opposing sides in the Kosovo conflict; the announcement of a "cessation of hostilities;" an end to all the offensive actions of the special police units; for the democratic Albanian alternative movement in Kosovo to be allowed to appeal for an end to hostility and an approach to negotiations through all the media here; for the Albanian side to support and offer a guarantee for the safety of all Serbs, Montenegrins, and other minorities in Kosovo; for an end to political trials, including those of Vlasi and all political prisoners who have not used violence; and, finally, for talks about the future of Kosovo on a new democratic foundation of political pluralism and under the guarantee of all the political and cultural rights of the minorities.

As was stressed here, this appeal of the Belgrade group for peace and democracy, "Against violence and for peace and democracy in Kosovo," was also sent to official bodies and forums in the country.

Reportage on Serbian Parties' Activities

National Radical Party Formed

LD1801154490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1018 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—Assorted alternative political organizations in our country will soon be joined by radicals. The "resumption" of the work of the National Radical Party (NRS), founded in 1881 as the first political party in Serbia, will be announced at a news conference in Belgrade tomorrow.

In a proclamation sent to the media, the party's initiating committee, composed largely of lawyers from Belgrade, stresses that under a ruling of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia issued in 1945, and never rescinded or withdrawn since, the National Radical Party is allowed to continue work. This is why the party is not announcing its foundation but the resumption of its "spontaneously frozen" activities.

In its proclamation to "patriotic citizens" throughout Yugoslavia, the NRS explains the reasons for continuing the work of the party, which had its most glorious days under the leadership of the famous and controversial Serbian politician, Nikola Pasic. [passage omitted]

The NRS also calls for a constituent assembly to be elected in direct and secret elections to promulgate a new Yugoslav constitution as soon as possible from this provisions favoring any form of ideological or party bias will be dropped.

The state system favored by the NRS is a democratic parliamentary federation with clearly defined powers, headed by a president, with a single army and an equal right for all political factors to take part in all public services. To this end the party advocates the "depoliticization of the Army, state security, internal affairs, judiciary, and all administrative organs." In the sphere of the economy, the NRS favors complete orientation to a market economy based on private ownership in which state, collective, and mixed ownership will also be allowed.

In reference to Yugoslavia's foreign policy, the NRS wants the "usefulness of Yugoslavia's further involvement in the nonaligned Movement" to be reexamined. In the sphere of internal policy, the NRS singles out the issue of Kosovo and Metohija. As stated in the proclamation, solutions to Kosovo problems can be found only by employing the principles of the law-governed state whose prime task is to rescind all the regulations which during the occupation [World War II] and in the postwar period disrupted ethnic balance in Kosovo and Metohija. In the NRS's view, both Serbs and Albanians as well as Albanian refugees who fled their mother country have to the same extent been victims of a one-party state." [passage omitted: Like other newly formed parties, the NRS sees pluralism as an opportunity to make a turnabout in the direction of the past and not to serch for new solutions]

Radical Party Branch in Pozarevac

AU2701195290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] In the presence of 200 Pozarevac people and numerous guests from Belgrade, Smederevo, and other places of Serbia, a local committee of the National Radical Party was set up in Pozarevac today. The basic demands of this party with a Yugoslav orientation are: a multiparty parliamentary system; a unified federal and independent Yugoslavia in Europe; a consistent division of powers between the legislative, juridical, and executive branches; a market economy with private property as the basic form; and the solving of the problem of Kosovo and Metohija.

Lawyer Milos Pesic was elected first president of the local committee in Pozarevac.

Serbian National Renewal Relaunched

LD0103212690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2132 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Summary] Curug, 28 Feb [TANJUG]—Though banned, the political party of the Serbian National Renewal was launched again in Curug this evening. The meeting was held without permission at the instistence of about 500 people gathered in this village of Backa. Policemen were present but did not intervene. The first time the party was launched was on 6 January 1990. It continued in practice the activity of the banned Sava society which was banned after this gathering. Finally, on 27 January, St Sava Day, the Serbian National Renewal party held a founding assembly and thus became the first postwar illegal party in Yugoslavia.

New Serbian Peasant Party

AU0802134090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jan 90 p 4

[B.G. report: "A Party Instead of an Alliance"]

[Text] Peasants in the Republic of Serbia have decided to set up their own independent peasant party instead of an alliance. The president of the initiative committee for the establishment of this party, Milan Dalja, a peasant from Borca near Belgrade, has stressed that its aims are the protection of peasants' interests—so that they are on an equal footing with other social strata—the improvement of their material and social situation, and the production of nutritious and cheap food.

As stressed, the party will advocate society's democratic renaissance and the humanization of social relations, and it is willing to cooperate with all parties both at home and abroad which have the same interests and program aims.

Serbian Freedom Movement Set Up

AU0802131190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jan 90 p 4

[Z.H. report: "Serbian Freedom Movement Founded"]

[Text] Belgrade—By presenting a declaration on the constitutional issue and a resolution on the upcoming parliamentary elections, another new organization with political aims called the Serbian Freedom Movement [Srpski Slobodarski Pokret] has appeared. A Motherland Central Administration was elected, headed by Dr Vojislav Seselj, at the movement's founding congress held on 23 January in Belgrade.

The Serbian Freedom Movement's declaration on the constitutional issue says that in all of Yugoslav history, the St Vitus Day Constitution [of January 1921] has been the only constitutional-legal document to be adopted in a democratic way. Therefore, the declaration says, a new Constitution should be adopted by a constituent assembly quite independently and disregarding any quasi-constitutional document that was imposed on the people and the state between 1929 and 1989. The Serbian Freedom Movement shares the view that the peoples which agreed to enter a joint Yugoslav state have retained the right to self-determination, including the right to secession. In the possible application of this principle, the declaration says, no one has the right to deprive Serbia of those territories which belonged to Serbia before Yugoslavia was created.

In the resolution on the upcoming parliamentary elections, the Serbian Freedom Movement advocates the elimination of all forms of the existence and expression of the monopolistic position of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. It also demands that all forms of "social" control of the press be scrapped and equal time be allowed on the state television and radio stations for all political parties. There is also a demand for citizens to have the right to set up political parties at will without obtaining any prior permission.

We demand that in the upcoming Yugoslav parliamentary elections all parties present their own lists of candidates for deputies. These lists will be applicable throughout the country, the resolution of the Serbian Freedom Movement says.

Belgrade Democratic Party Launched

LD0302175290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1212 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Feb (TANJUG)—A new political organization was launched in Belgrade today, the Democratic Party, whose aim is to create conditions to establish a democratic system and free competition for all political organizations, including the League of Communists [LC]. Writer Borisav Pekic, Kosta Cavoski, and a number of other prominent intellectuals addressed the inaugural assembly, criticizing not such much the LC itself but its political monopoly. They called for the return of all our citizens, especially intellectuals, from abroad.

At the proposal of Dr Dragoljub Micunovic the assembly also endorsed a statement for the public in which "the present national policy of the ruling party" is most responsible for the situation in Kosovo. The statement contains an appeal to the Albanian nationality to refrain from demonstrations and violence and an appeal to the authorities to release all political prisoners who did not take part in violence, calling for a broad dialogue on a possible solution to ethnic conflicts in Kosovo.

Among those who sent greetings telegrams to the Democratic Party were Portuguese politician Adolfo Suarez and some alternative political organizations from Slovenia.

Green Party Meets; Others To Form

LD0103190290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2108 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—The promotion of the Green Party this evening in the Youth Center in Belgrade heralded presentation of all political parties and groups in the Serbian Socialist Republic, which will start on 12 March.

In front of some 70 interested Belgrade citizens, members of the initiative committee of the first ecological political party in Serbia explained their program with which they will try to gain power. Noting that they "are not a Serbian party," but a Yugoslav and, if law permits, an international party, Dragan Jovanovic, interim president of the Green Party, announced the party will soon set up branches in Zenica, Banja Luka, Titograd, Skopje, and Plevlja. [passage omitted]

Belgrade Socialist Alliance Head Resigns

LD2202200390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1808 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 22 (TANJUG)—President of Belgrade Socialist Alliance Zoran Todorovic, 30, called by many radical champion of the new Serbian policy, today resigned to the function. The Presidency of the Belgrade League of Communists yesterday initiated the establishment of Todorovic's responsibility and his resignation.

Todorovic stated today that he considers the resignation as his personal success and that the leadership of the Belgrade Socialist Alliance was elected completely legally. He stressed that the activities of the Belgrade Socialist Alliance have been fully on the line of the [words indistinct] in the largest Yugoslav republic, the policy which champions the unity of Serbia, democratic socialism and reforms.

The Belgrade daily "BORBA" today published an extensive article on Todorovic, citing that he is one of the loudest champions of the antibureaucratic revolution associated with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, and adds that Todorovic was one of the first to "start the campaign against the former Serbian policy". Todorovic has covered the road from the praise as "the leader of young lions" of the new Serbian policy to the criticism "as a political bully and one of the culprits for what was disputable in the latest elections in Belgrade", Borba concludes.

Andjelkovic Serbian Front President

AU1002212490 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Feb 90 p 9

[Unattributed report: "Radmila Andjelkovic Elected President of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia"]

[Excerpt] At the electoral conference of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia, that was held the day before yesterday, Radmila Andjelkovic was reelected this organization's president in a secret vote. Miroslav Markovic is the new secretary of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia. Delegates to the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia were also elected. [passage omitted]

Serbian Government Endorses Security Report

AU1901220490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] The report on the security situation in Serbia, which was endorsed today by the Serbian Executive Council, highlights the Serbian nationalism which has been manifesting itself sporadically, although attention should be paid to the great number of verbal displays, the singing of Chetnik songs, and the writing of nationalist

graffitti. It is stated that in nationally mixed communities there has been a freeze in interethnic relations between the Serbian and Muslim populations.

The republican Executive Council also discussed a report on the setting up of the Serbian National Renewal [Srpska Narodna Obnova] society in Nova Pazova, which has been energetically condemned throughout the whole republic. Considering that there has been an initiative for setting up Serbian National Renewal and it has been mentioned that the founding meeting will be held in Belgrade on 27 January, the republican and provincial Secretariats for Internal Affairs will take the necessary measures within their powers in order to eliminate the hostile activities of this group.

Slovene Opposition Considers Talks With State

AU2802200990 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
23 Feb 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Statement by Demos—United Opposition"]

[Text] 1. Considering that the President of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia has invited the political organizations united in Demos to talks in the Assembly Presidium, we state the following:

The Demos members are in principle willing to participate in political talks with the institutions of the ruling state and political system when the talks concern essential questions of the Slovenes future. However, such talks must be conducted on an equal footing. This means that the members of Demos—United Opposition are not prepared to help by their presence merely to create an impression that the present state and political system are democratic. Demos—United Opposition lacks any actual influence on the final adoption of the decisions by the one-party Assembly.

2. We repeat our well-known stand of principle that a new Slovene Constitution must be adopted before any amendments to or replacement of the federal Constitution. This means that we reject all the present proposals concerning the amendments to or replacement of the federal Constitution. In this connection, we find the Federal Executive Council proposals for solving the questions of political association, which is to say party life, especially dangerous. We Slovenes had extremely bad experiences with centralist regulations in this sphere in old Yugoslavia.

3. In connection with the proposal of the constitutional commission regarding the apparent proclamation of economic independence, we state the following:

As is known, our political activities are based on the 1989 May Declaration, in which we have proceeded from the right of the Slovene people to self-determination and statehood.

Our interest lies not in competing for prestige with other parties, but in the matter itself, and we feel responsible toward the Slovene people in general.

The implementation of Slovenia's economic sovereignty presupposes political emancipation, and this means that the federal Constitution and the legislation based on it cease to apply on the territory of Slovenia, which implies an end to paying 20 percent of the national income to the federation. A mere proclamation of Slovenia's economic independence without abolishing federal legislation would mean election propaganda without any actual change.

Ribicic on Differences Among Republican Parties

AU1702174990 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
10 Feb 90 p 16

[Miso Renko report: "The Opposition is Closer to Slovene Party Than Serbian Communists Are"]

[Excerpt] Trieste, 9 Feb—The central attention of the Slovene Communists is now directed toward spring elections. They will endeavor to have the elections pass in the most democratic way and would certainly also like to win, that is to say, to obtain a relative majority. If they fail to do so, the leadership of the League of Communists [LC] of Slovenia—Party of Democratic Reform will tender its resignation, Dr. Ciril Ribicic, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Slovenia—Party of Democratic Reform, said in Trieste yesterday evening.

After the meeting with the leadership of the Friuli regional committee of the Italian Communist Party, Ciril Ribicic briefed a wide audience, which included representatives of other political parties and organizations, about the program of the LC of Slovenia—Party of Democratic Reform and the current political situation in Slovenia and Yugoslavia. He explained the unbridgeable political differences between the Slovene Communists and the Communists in Serbia, Montenegro, and Vojvodina, which are much larger than those between the LC of Slovenia—Party of Democratic Reform and its opposition.

There have been more close points in political programs with Croatian Communists after the congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] was adjourned. The Slovene Communists met the leaders of the LCY Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, Ribicic said. "Despite serious differences in stands about the way out of the country's political crisis, one has to admit that the LCY Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army has vastly changed its views about solving the political crisis, something that can also be seen by the fact that they agreed to the introduction of a multiparty system in Yugoslavia," Ciril Ribicic pointed out. The Slovene Communists will go back to the LCY in case they are given the opportunity of an equal dialogue with other republican organizations, but are not prepared to

agree to the status of a minority which is always outvoted in the case of fundamental questions. [passage omitted]

On Slovenian Communists' Policy

LD0103235390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2325 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] Zagreb, March 1 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia continues to remain our first free choice and the League of Communists of Slovenia-Democratic Renewal Party has opted for democratic socialism, leader of the Slovenian Communist Ciril Ribicic on Thursday told a meeting of the municipal committee of the League of Communists of Zagreb.

He said his party is also open to cooperation with those democratic parties in Yugoslavia "which do not have socialism in their program, if they have a program of a social state."

Ribicic said the Slovenian party is considering forming a single federal council of those supporting democratic development in Yugoslavia if, as he said, the "blockade continues" of the democratic transformation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY).

By leaving the 14th special party congress the Slovenian party did "not close or lock" the doors behind itself, he said, adding that the forces advocating democratic options are even stronger now than before the congress.

Ribicic said that, as far as he knows, the LCY Central Committee has accepted many proposals on the line of democratic changes but, since the Slovenian party had not been officially informed about them, there also exist serious reasons for doubt in the willingness for a major transformation of the LCY.

Denouncing the attempts to form "under pressure from above" a parallel LC in Slovenia, Ribicic said he believes this will not fill in the "empty chair" in the LCY Central Committee Presidency because this, he said, will be rejected by the majority of the other republican party organizations.

Ribicic underscored that the Slovenian LC has in advance been denied the option to return to the old LCY and that it viewed the federal party centralism and outvoting as a threat to democratic processes in the republic.

Slovene Poll on Shifting Party Support

AU0103152290

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 24 February on page 23 carries a 3,000-word report by Peter Jambrek and Niko Tos entitled "The Shaping of the Slovene Political Map Between December 1989 and January 1990: Where From and Where to Are Voters 'Running?'." This is a report on a poll conducted by "workers of the Research Institute of the Faculty for Sociology, Political Science, and Journalism" of Ljubljana University "among a random sample of 2,075 adult inhabitants of Slovenia." The poll was conducted "approximately between the middle of December 1989 and the middle of January 1990," and respondents were given the choice of one of eight parties.

"One day after the suspended party congress (20 January 1990), the same respondents were sent a control letter which among other things contained the same question with a request for a written answer. Of the persons polled, 82.36 percent (or 1,709) replied."

The poll's results are displayed in a matrix of nine rows and nine columns, listing the eight parties and the undecided votes, showing in each row and column the absolute number of votes in the second poll and the percentage of votes gained and lost since the first poll.

The results are summarized in two tables. The figures are as published.

Table 1: The prestige of the Slovene parties on the first and the second polls, and the gains or losses of each party.

First Poll	
1. Undecided	32.2 percent
2-3. Socialist Alliance	13.2
2-3. The Greens of Slovenia	13.2
4-5. Slovene Peasant Union	10.2
4-5. ZSMS [former Youth Federation]	10.2
6. Slovene Democratic Alliance	8.4
7. League of Communists of Slovenia	6.4
8. Christian Democrats	3.4
9. Social Democratic Alliance	2.9
Second Poll	
1. Slovene Democratic Alliance	18.8
2. Undecided	16.0
3. League of Communists of Slovenia	14.3
4. Socialist Alliance	12.8
5. The Greens of Slovenia	11.2
6. Slovene Peasant Alliance	9.7
7. ZSMS	7.3
8. Christian Democrats	6.0
9. Social Democratic Alliance	4.0
Gains/Losses	
1. Slovene Democratic Alliance	plus10.4 percent
2. League of Communists of Slovenia	plus7.9
3. Christian Democrats	plus2.6
4. Social Democratic Alliance	plus1.1
5. Socialist Alliance	minus0.4
6. Slovene Peasant Alliance	minus0.5

7. The Greens of Slovenia	minus2.0
8. ZSMS	minus2.9
9. Undecided	minus16.2

Table 2. The Relationship of forces in a bi-polar political sphere (percentages):

	First Poll	Second Poll	Gains/ Losses
New Alliances (Demos)	38.1	49.7	plus 11.6
Undecided	32.2	16.0	minus 16.2
Old Alliances	29.8	34.4	plus 4.6
(League of Communists of Slovenia, Socialist Alliance, ZSMS)			
Total	100.0	100.0	

Slovene LC-Democratic Reform Party Founded

LD0203142490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1146 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—With the transformation of the Slovene League of Communists [LC] into the Slovene LC-Democratic Reform Party [SKS-Stranka Demokratske Reforme], the old organization has not been disbanded and its historical continuity has been completely preserved. Hence, there will be no voting about party membership, it was heard at today's press conference of the Slovene communist party.

To the journalists' question regarding confusion and uncertainty among the party rank-and-file over the abolition of basic organizations in enterprises, Lenart Setinc cited opportunities for their affiliation: within local communities, within various forms of interest-based organizations at the level of municipal committees, or as individual members, which means that they will not be affiliated to any specific organization.

Zagreb Radio, TV on Croatian Elections

LD1702115490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1522 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—The workers' council of Zagreb Radio and Television at today's session approved this institution's principles of the program policy during the preelection activities and elections in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, which will be held this year. This document sets out the basic principles on which, in the institution's programs, the dissemination of information on preelection activities and elections in Croatia this year will be based.

It is stressed that Zagreb Radio and Television will, in its current affairs activities, act as an independent and supra-party institution for the public, on tha basis of the provisions of the Constitution, the law on the election and recall of committee members and representatives, and of other laws regulating these matters. In the production and broadcasting of radio and television programs, Zagreb Radio and Television will offer the public information on facts and views important for decision-making in preelection procedures and in the elections, without giving priority to any political organization. The principle of informing the public on all important political events and processes and on the principles of freedom, objectivity, and unbiased reporting, and taking into consideration differences of opinion and the balance of programs, will be respected. In its programs it will facilitate the presentation of the electoral programs of all political organizations taking part in the elections under equal conditions.

In view of the fact that Zagreb Radio and Television operates within Yugoslav Radio and Television and broadcasts some of its programs in a common scheme for the Croato-Serbian linguistic area, Zagreb Radio and Television will request of all the members of Yugosalv Radio and Television that, in their broadcasts which are to be carried by Zagreb Radio and Television, they refrain from any form of involvement in the preelection activities in the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

On the day of the elections themselves and 48 hours prior to the elections, Zagreb Radio and Television will not broadcast programs on the political messages of political organizations. Also on these days it will not carry broadcasts or programs which could influence the voters' decision. During the preelection campaign, Zagreb Radio and Television will not publish the results of public opinion research in connection with the elections, preliminary results, or estimates of the results of the elections until the polls close. It is stressed in the program policy's principles that candidates and political organizations are guaranteed equal access to radio and television. The autonomy, fairness, and professional responsibility of journalists and editorial staff are also guaranteed. The journalistsl political convictions and affiliation to the political oarganization should not have an impact on the performance of professional journalistic tasks, so journalists and editors who are candidates in the elections and members of the leaderships of political oraganizations cannot take part in the realization of Zagreb Radio and Television programs connected with the preelection campaign and the elections. [passage omitted]

Croat Parties, Associations Established

'Party of Yugoslavs'

LD0203134590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0948 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Zagreb, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—Beginning today, the Croat political scene is richer by one more party: the Party of Yugoslavs. Ante Ercegovic was elected party

president. The party gathers all those who declare themselves as Yugoslavs and all others, irrespective of their sex, racial, national, and religious orientation or affiliation.

In its program statement, the party stresses that it will employ nonviolent, legal political means, within the framework of the Constitution and law. It will champion fundamental Yugoslav values in all environments by asserting, through common goals, specific values of all Yugoslav nations and nationalities.

At the same time, it will promote equal rights and liberties for everyone on the entire territory of the Socialist Republic of Croatia and SFRY; the highest humanitarian and democratic achievements within the framework of the federal parliamentary system, based on AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles; and the principle of law-governed state, that is, civil society in all republics, provinces, and regions in Yugoslavia.

The main objectives of the Party of Yugoslavs is setting in motion a powerful process of regional integration within Yugoslavia, in order to create preconditions for political, economic, cultural, and civilizational integration of Yugoslavia within the future Europe.

Social Democratic Party in Rijeka

LD0403212190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1544 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Summary] Rijeka, 4 Mar (TANJUG)—The Rijeka branch of the Croatian Social Democratic Party was founded today. Drgutin Haramija spoke at the founding assembly on behalf of the National Agreement Coalition and said that its main goal is to facilitate a smooth transition from a one-party monopoly to a multiparty system.

Human Rights Association

LD1902095390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1446 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Summary] Zagreb, 18 Feb (TANJUG)—The Croat Association for the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights, founded in Zagreb today, called for the urgent release of all political prisoners in Yugoslavia. The program declaration emphasized that the association is an independent organization which will direct its activity toward not only the protection but also the foundation of human rights as a norm. The participants in the founding assembly today also accepted a proposal to send financial aid to the Kosovo Human Rights Committee intended for child victims of the violation of human rights.

Zvonimir Cicak was elected president of the association.

Overview of New Alternative Parties, Movements

LD2601054090 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1504 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, January 25 (TANJUG)—An initial [as received] has been raised in the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia for founding a Socialist Party of Macedonia, a party whose activities will be in the best traditions of the European socialists, as it is set out in a programmatic statement issued in the republican capital of Skoplje today.

The initiators set out that the Socialist Party of Macedonia will act without making any difference between the citizens of the republic either on a nationality or a religious basis.

The socialist party will be the third alternative party to be formed in the southern Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The "League for Democracy" and the Association for the Macedonian Nation (MAAK) have already been founded.

At the same time, the political programme of the Association for the protection of the Equality of Citizens was published in Ljubljana, capital of Yugoslavia's northern republic of Slovenia.

The leaders of the Association for the protection of the Equality of citizens, a political movement which was founded two months ago and which predomicantly rallies citizens of Slovenia who are not of Slovene nationality, today informed reporters that the association will work for a parliamentary democracy and a multi-party system in Slovenia, as part of Yugoslavia.

The Association for the Protection of the Equality of Citizens calls in its political programme for market economy and the equality of all types of ownership for a legal state, independent courts, the freedom of the press and an end to the privileges acquired in the past by the governing strata of society.

The association urges the preservation of national identity in an "open cultural Yugoslav environment" and the equality of all nations. The association officials insist that theirs is not a party of "southerners" but a party which rallies citizens who give in Slovenia and the rest of the country and who struggle for the survival of Yugoslavia.

Close to 70 parties, movements, associations and alliances have been formed in Yugoslavia in the past year. Only a few of them are Yugoslav-oriented, whereas the majority have strictly national programs and interests. A growing number of them gave of late openly adopted national-chauvinism as their basis and call for the retailoring of frontiers within the country or for secession from Yugoslavia. The largest number of the alternative parties and movements have been founded in Yugoslavia's most highly developed republics—18 in Slovenia and 15 in Croatia.

The parties with a democratic orientation have decided to coordinate their work and to hold a joint meeting in Zagreb next month.

Three New Political Parties Launched

LD3001211790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2006 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 30 (TANJUG)—Initiatives for the forming of three new political parties were launched today in Yugoslavia which already has more than 70 alternative alliances and associations.

The organizations which today announced they wanted to become independent political parties initiatives are the Socialist Alliance of the Working People (SAWP) of the Republic of Serbia, a mass political organization, the Youth Organization of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and journalists were also informed about the initiative for the forming of a Student Organization of the Croatian Peasants' Party.

SAWP of Serbia leader Radmila Andjelkovic told a press conference here today that the political party would be a party rallying people who are for democracy, socialism, national equality and a federative Yugoslavia. Andjelkovic said the party would be [words indistinct] associations and parties with national and chauvinist programmes.

The leadership of the Youth Organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina backed its intention to become a party by disbanding the organization of the League of Communists in its ranks, and the youth president returned his party-membership card.

The initiative committee for the forming of the Student Organization of the Croatian Peasants' Party did not say much about its program at today's press conference, devoting more attention to the situation in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo—the site of riots by ethnic Albanian separatists. The committee demanded the lifting of the state of emergency in Kosovo and the withdrawal of Croatian troops and police, members of the federal troops in Kosovo.

The future of the party in power, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), was also discussed today. Bosnia-Herzegovina intellectuals suggested that the party split up into two parties—communist and socialist, because it is obvious that there are two trends within it—a conservative and reformist. The LCY, as it is now, cannot be reformed because it has been conceived as a party in power.